



PRIZE ESSAYS  
ON THE  
POST-BIBLICAL  
HISTORY OF THE JEWS

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TWO PRIZE ESSAYS

ON THE

POST-BIBLICAL HISTORY OF THE JEWS.



T W O

PRIZE ESSAYS

ON

THE POST-BIBLICAL HISTORY

OF THE JEWS.

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כל אשר תמצא ידך לעשות בכבוד עשה:

Ecel. ix. 10.

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EVER desirous to aid in whatever is likely to improve the standing, exalt the character, and develop the mental vigour of his co-religionists, the proprietor of the "Jewish Chronicle" some time ago determined to offer prizes for two Essays, one on the Post-Biblical History of the Jews, and one on certain chapters of the Book of Isaiah, hoping by this means to shew to the public, both Jewish and Christian, that the Jewish intellect is still as vigorous as of yore, and only needs a fostering hand to take a high position in the present ranks of literature.

The first offer of these prizes met with much approbation, and so liberal was the assistance voluntarily offered, that a sufficient sum was raised to enable the proposer to offer a prize of £10 for the first, and one of £5 for the second Essay on each of the subjects proposed for competition.

The Essays received on the Post-Biblical History were submitted to the adjudication of three gentlemen, all of them eminently qualified for the office, viz.:—

REV. DR. ADLER, our much respected Chief Rabbi,  
SAMPSON SAMUEL Esq., and

HENRY N. SOLOMON, Esq.,

who came to a unanimous decision; and to them and to those subscribers who have aided him in his labour

of love, the proprietor of the "Jewish Chronicle" feels himself greatly indebted.

The two Essays on the Post-Biblical History of the Jews, are now offered to the public; and it is believed that both will deservedly meet with a favourable reception.

Should the forthcoming Essays on Isaiah meet with similar success to those now published, it is to be hoped that a permanent association may be formed for the continued encouragement of mental effort among our co-religionists, so that as a community we may no longer be supposed to be indifferent to the honours of literary distinction.

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POST-BIBLICAL HISTORY OF  
THE JEWS.

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THE FIRST ESSAY,

BY

H. B.

In the following brief sketch, it has been my endeavour to present the chief events which have marked the career of the Hebrew nation, in as concise a manner as is consistent with the nature and dignity of the subject. One of the chief designs held in view was the production of a work that might prove of service in the cause of education, as our schools confessedly stand in great need of text-books of this nature: nor is there any volume devoted to the theme of Post-Biblical history which is composed in a style sufficiently simple for the comprehension of youthful readers. As this Essay has been deemed worthy the first prize, it will not, I trust, be deemed presumptuous to hope that it may in some degree serve to supply this void, and to direct the attention of the literary world to the imperious necessity that exists for a supply of mental food to meet the rapidly-increasing demand of an improved standard of Education. H. B.

*Liverpool, 1851.*

#### ERRATUM.

Page 59, line 6 from bottom, *for* convicts, *read* converts.

# POST-BIBLICAL HISTORY OF THE JEWS.

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## THE FIRST ESSAY.

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AMONG the various nations floating down on the tide of history, there is none that appeals alike to the respect, sympathy and wonder of the world, with as much force as the Jewish. Whether viewed as the enthroned monarchs of Judæa, trampling under foot all the kingdoms of the East, or as the captives by the waters of Babylon, sinking beneath the weight of a tyrant's power; as the courtiers and grandees of Spain, ennobling that proudest of courts by their wisdom; or as the denizens of the wretchedest purlieus of London, but now emerging from the slough of ignorance that has so long deadened their energies,—they are in every phase of their existence surrounded by a halo of imagination, exceedingly welcome in this unimaginative age. But when we regard them in their true and unchanging position, as the living witnesses of God, as the only people with whom He ever deigned to speak, as the preservers of those sacred volumes that have effected the progressive civilization of every age, and whose blessings will cease but with the end of time: when we view them in their true light, standing as a bridge of communication between the

past and the present ; proud in the recollections of the past, humble in the hopes of the present, trustful in the redemption of the future : when we consider their wondrous vitality, and mark how they have ever triumphantly battled against slander, oppression, and bloodshed from without, against bigotry, dissension, and superstition from within, they immediately become invested, to every spiritual eye, with a garment of sanctity,—a people to be viewed with awe and wonder, and not to be cast aside in the balance of nations, as of little account and few in number.

It were an interesting, as it is assuredly an important study, to trace this nation from the period of its glory and greatness to that of its sufferings and decadence ; to mark how disobedience to the behests of its great Ruler has ever met with punishment, how bigotry has ever been the signal for sedition and civil war, how secession from its tenets has ever led to ignominy and disgrace. Nor are the lessons to be derived from such a contemplation all so gloomy :—the observant mind cannot fail to mark, on the other hand, how obedience has ever met with reward, how humility in tribulation has ever been the precursor of success, how faith in the hour of triumph has ever averted anarchy and decay.

To the historian, such a study is replete with interest ; the barbaric pomp of the Orientals, the polished grace of the Greeks, the severe majesty of the Romans, the warlike panoply of the Western tribes, the chivalry of the middle ages, the refinement of modern times, all pass in review before him, all lend their aid in the solution of the great problem. To the philosopher, who, with piercing eye, would penetrate the world-mist of antiquity, and see the secret springs upon which hinge the rise and fall of mighty nations, how persecution leads to fidelity, how triumph tends



to demoralization ;—to the ethnologist, who would study the gradual spread of civilization, and trace human progress from its cradle in the East, to the ripeness of its manhood in the West ;—to the philologist, who would follow up the track of language from the rude and uncouth symbols of primeval nations, through the divine harmony of the Scriptures, and the poetic grace of classic phraseology, to the more expansive literature of the present time ; to all, in fact, to whom the progress of the human mind appears a high and ennobling object, such a study affords unrivalled and unapproachable opportunities.

The period of splendour and prosperity of the Hebrew nation is described, in the sacred writings, in the divine language that so well befits the dignity of the subject. We there read how the patriarch was first struck with a glimpse of the Faith that has since exercised so mighty an influence over the world ; we follow the growth of this faith through captivity, persecution, labour and contempt, to its final triumph ; we see a long line of kings and judges, educated in its tenets and concentrating around them the wisdom, glory, and riches of the earth ; and then again we mark its downward career ; we ponder upon the inseparable connection of triumph and power with luxury, dissension, idolatry, and decay ; we see the kings hurled from their thrones, the judges banished from their gates, the priests driven from their temples, the sacred fane itself destroyed, and the believers in the faith carried to a distant and sad captivity. And the volumes close with prophecies of future grandeur and triumph, when the nation shall be again gathered in from its captivity ; when the voice of the high priest, the adoration of the worshipping multitude, and the perfumed incense of the offering, shall again ascend from the temple of the Holy City.

To the historian, who would trace the Post-Biblical history of the Jews, a sadder task is assigned: victory and thanksgiving, glory, triumph, and wealth, no longer point the way. From amid the records of barbarous and idolatrous nations, he must seek for indications of their existence. By the blood of their martyrs alone is he guided to the track of their wanderings among the Greeks; by the quiverings of their agony in the amphitheatre, he recognises their presence in Rome; by their groans and the clanking of their chains from the inquisitorial dungeons, he knows that they have passed through Spain. Wherever he finds traces of their presence, there also he sees marks of their sufferings; their records are written in the life-blood of their martyrs, and the blaze of their funeral pyres alone lights up the darker passages of their history.

But in later times, this relentless persecution has ceased; toleration has spread its protecting wing over them; and they now dwell in safety and honour, where their forefathers were hunted down like the beasts of the forest.

It was not until after the return from the Babylonian captivity, that the Hebrews were first called Jews; nor was this name ill applied to them, since nought but the kingdom of Judah remained. Samaria had been utterly destroyed, and the ten tribes that bore the glorious name of Israel a hundred years before the desecration of the Holy City, had been taken into captivity by Salmanezar. And, though the kingdom of Judah comprehended the two entire tribes of Benjamin and Levi, and its ranks numbered many of the most illustrious of the other families, who were attracted to it by its wealth, its magnificence, and its high destiny, no less than they were actuated by religious zeal after the schism of Jeroboam; still they were all confounded under the name of Jews, and their kingdom was styled Judæa.

From the earliest times, the hopes and aspirations of the Hebrews had been fixed with undying faith upon the tribe of Judah. Alike the most numerous and the most illustrious, its present power was to free the nation from slavery and disgrace; its future glory was to shed an eternal halo around their name. For of old Jacob had prophesied, that from this favoured people a race of kings should be born; and there was not a matron of the tribe of Judah, that might not indulge in the proud hope of giving a Messiah to the Hebrew nation.<sup>1</sup>

As the kingdom, long time tottering, was manifestly hastening to ruin after the death of Josiah, many of the Jews dispersed in every direction, and were scattered among the Moabites, the Ammonites, the Idumæans, and other neighbouring people. Those who still, with child-like reverence, elung to Jerusalem, were carried away by the Chaldeans, and none were left, save peasants to till the ground: even these, after a little, were removed to Egypt.

The mass of the nation, carried to Babylon, became slaves to the royal house; modern views would condemn this as tyrannical severity: in those days it was the usage of war (A.M. 3398). All who were taken in arms, all the inhabitants of a town carried by storm, or surrendered at discretion, and of the adjacent country, of which it was the capital, were slaves to the conquerors, and were apportioned according to the laws of the country; being either reserved for the service of royalty, employed in public works, or given to the military leader by whom they had been subdued. Classical history, as well as Biblical, abounds with instances of the kind; thus, after the siege of Troy, the people were carried into slavery, nor was Queen Hecuba

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<sup>1</sup> Genesis xlix. 10.

or her daughters reserved for a better fate : thus, too, the Romans loaded with chains the kings and people who had resisted them, or even slew them after their ignominy had graced the triumph of the victors. We have no reason to believe that the Hebrews were treated with undue severity ; we know they were allowed the full exercise of their peculiar jurisdiction, and they retained the power of appointing judges over life and death.<sup>2</sup>

Nevertheless, it was impossible but that captivity should exert a dangerous influence over them ; brought up, alike by faith and inclination, in rigorous exclusion, they could not be so intimately mingled with another nation, without contamination : many were prevailed upon to turn from the adoration of the true God, and perform worship to idols ; more ate forbidden meats, and took wives from among strangers ; and but few refrained from adopting the language of their masters, of which many traces are to be found in the “ holy tongue ” to this day. During the seventy years of the captivity, Hebrew was forgotten, and none cultivated it except the learned and the scribes, precisely as it is at the present time with the Latin. Syriac and Chaldee became the vulgar language, such as is to be met with in the writings of Daniel and Ezra, or in the Targums, by which the people were led back to a knowledge of Scripture. At this period, too, the alphabet was changed ; and in lieu of the old letters, which are preserved by the Samaritans, the Chaldean, now erroneously called the Hebrew, were substituted.

But, after the lapse of seventy years, a great change took place among the Eastern nations ; and the proud and mighty Babylon was in its turn forced to yield to the Per-

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<sup>2</sup> See the Book of Susannah, *passim*.

sian conqueror : with it, of course, the Jews changed their master, and being but the captives of a vanquished power, expected a still more slavish treatment. But Cyrus, as admirable a politician as he was an accomplished strategist, was fully alive to the moral and pacific influence that even so small a people as the Jews would exert upon the turbulent nations by whom they were surrounded : and setting them at liberty, he gave them full permission to return to Judæa, rebuild the temple, and worship in the faith of their fathers. Habituated by long servitude to the manners of the country, and unwilling to give up a fixed abode for the privations and chances of a new settlement, the majority of the Jews declined to avail themselves of their newly acquired liberty, and passively remained in the middle and eastern provinces of the Persian Empire. Thus of the entire nation, but fifty thousand souls returned to Judæa in various detachments, under the command of Ezra, Zerubabel, and others : what a falling off from the time of the kings, when twelve hundred thousand Hebrew warriors could be called together by the messengers of war !

Thus was Judæa again peopled ; but the kingdom was now a dependency of the Persian throne (A.M. 3468). The first care of the restored Jews was to discover their former inheritances, and to preserve each family's patrimony : and so carefully had the registers been kept throughout the captivity, that this was a matter of infinitely less difficulty than would be supposed. It was for this purpose that Ezra collected all the genealogies which he enumerates, and in which he enlarges chiefly upon those of the tribes of Judah, Levi and Benjamin. The temple was rebuilt, in the course of time, but was not completed until twenty years after their return, nor were the walls of Jerusalem raised for sixty more. The domestic government was

modelled according to the Mosaic code, and given up to the care of the priests and elders ; the Levitical cities were rebuilt, the writings of Moses, the archives of history, and the prophecies of the wise men were collected and studied : the great synagogue of a hundred and twenty men was established for the explanation and critical revision of the Holy Scriptures ; and smaller synagogues and schools arose on every side, where those anxious to understand the law might assemble to hear it expounded, and those who desired to return to the undefiled language of their ancestors might become acquainted with its first principles. Still smarting from the sting of the punishment that had fallen upon their fathers for disobedience, the tenets of the law were strictly adhered to ; a careful distinction was made between the true Israelites and the strangers who had returned from Babylon with them<sup>3</sup> : and the marriage laws, a disregard of which had led to such fearful calamities, were enforced more strictly than ever : so that nations, not forbidden in the law, were now rigorously excluded from the pale, such as the people of Azotus in Philistia, the Ammonites, and the Moabites :—and the priests were particularly strict in the enforcement of these prohibitions.<sup>4</sup> Never, indeed, had the Jews worshipped in stricter accordance with the letter of the law ; idolatry was utterly unknown among them, and yet the fervour and true devotion that had stamped the religion of their ancestors, were absent. Long time severed from all that had endeared them to the true worship, the later Jews were not struck with the mysteries of Scripture in so high a degree : and though they were surrounded by the sacred mountains on which

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<sup>3</sup> See Valesius' Notes on Euseb. Hist. Eccles. lib. i, c. 7.

<sup>4</sup> Josephus cont. Ap. lib. i, c. 7.

their fathers prayed, and dwelt in the holy city in defence of which the blood of the Hebrews had flowed like water, though the memorials of their former adoration were on all sides to be seen, though every mound had its history, every tree its associations, yet their feelings had been blunted by captivity. They attempted to account for the Divine miracles upon natural principles : in clinging to the letter of the law, they lost sight of its spirit : in the exposition of its tenets, they vaguely wandered among the subtleties they had imbibed from the Chaldeans.

But in enterprise, in activity and in commerce, they far surpassed the ancient Hebrews : their extensive trade, and the annual pilgrimage which it was the duty of every Jew to make to Jerusalem, accumulated an immense wealth in the Holy City : its fame resounded throughout the world, and strangers came from every part to make votive offerings at its shrine.<sup>5</sup> At first, the country was very poor ; slaves and cattle were few in number, and Herodotus, whose testimony, being contemporary, is particularly valuable, comprehends Syria, Phœnicia, Palestine and the Isle of Cyprus, under one single government that paid Darius a tribute of but 350 talents ;<sup>6</sup> which was no more than was paid by one of the smallest provinces of the rest of his kingdom, and Babylon alone yielded 1000. How rapidly the riches of this government increased, after the settlement of Judæa, may be gathered from the fact, that the tribute received from Palestine alone, in the time of the Romans, was double that of the entire province under Darius, and to the family of Herod, it brought in 750 talents.<sup>7</sup>

And now Judea again assumed a happy and smiling

<sup>5</sup> Philo. leg.

<sup>6</sup> Herod. lib. iii.

<sup>7</sup> In English money, about 370,000*l*.



appearance; the country was re-peopled; the land was ruddy with the ripening harvest; towns sprang up on every side; charming villages dotted the valleys, and plenty reigned throughout. So profound was the tranquillity, that for a period of three hundred years, no events occurred that call for historical comment—the best proof of happiness and peace: and the prophets, in the glowing description of those times, have left us the most magnificent types of the reign of the Messiah.

It was most probably during this period, that the Greeks became acquainted with the Jews in Egypt and Syria, whither they frequently journeyed; nor was the influence of the latter lost upon them, for the most ancient Christian authors tell us that the Greek poets, lawgivers, and philosophers, drank in their wisdom from the pure fountain of Jewish learning.<sup>8</sup> Solon himself travelled to Egypt; and modern jurists are at no loss to trace the spirit of the Mosaic laws throughout his code. Pythagoras had long been in Egypt, and in the time of Cambyzes resided in Babylon: he must, therefore, have mixed much with Jews. Plato, the profoundest of ancient philosophers, had passed many years of toilsome study in Egypt, and those who are conversant with his writings will call to mind many passages, of which the doctrines and the sentiments are but a repetition of the principles taught by Moses. Thus, what Plato dimly foreshadowed in his laws and commonwealth, the Jews really practised; they lived by their own industry, without luxury as without ambition, not having it in their power either to pauperize or unduly to enrich themselves, avoiding all novelty and change, and esteeming justice and a sense of religion, the highest and holiest of blessings. If

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<sup>8</sup> Justin Martyr and Clemens of Alexandria, *passim*.



we seek personifications of the rulers whom he deemed fit to govern such a state, but feared the world would never see again, we shall find that he has modelled his imaginary heroes upon the characters of Moses, David, and Solomon. The traditions of antiquity which he mentions as having been handed down from the most ancient times, relative to the judgment of mankind after death, and a future state, are manifestly Jewish doctrines; <sup>9</sup> and if Plato himself had not received them directly from the Jews (though I am inclined to believe he had), yet they had come to him mingled with the superstitions of Eastern nations, who, living near the Fathers of Mankind, had engrafted upon their purer faith a worship better suited to their own less refined notions.

It was not until the subjugation of the Persian empire, that the Jews would yield allegiance to the Greeks (A.M. 3672). Though during the sanguinary struggle between the two rival powers, the Samaritans had sent troops to Alexander, yet the Jews stood aloof, deeming it treachery to aid a foreign foe in the destruction of a nation, at whose hands they had been so kindly treated. Alexander, upon his victorious march, was dazzled by the majestic appearance of Jaddua, the High Priest, who, with his assistants, had gone forth to meet him, and the impression was not the less strong, because it was not the first time that Alexander had beheld him, since the monarch informed his friends that the figure of the pontiff, robed in his holy garments, had appeared to him in a dream, and incited him to the prosecution of his present design. The Syrians and Phœnicians, who were in Alexander's army, had long looked forward to the time when he should meet with the obdurate Jews, since they anticipated a glorious opportunity of glutting both their

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<sup>9</sup> Plato, de Soc. and de Repub. vi. and x. in fine.

cupidity and the hatred they had ever borne to the name of Judah. What then was their dismay, when they saw the king bow down in humble adoration before the priest, and taking a part in the procession, march with them to Jerusalem, and offer up thanksgiving and sacrifice at the sacred shrine! Before he left the city, he assembled the Jewish people and bade them ask any favour they desired. How noble was their reply! They told him all they could desire was to live in accordance with the laws their ancestors had left them, and they had but one favour to ask, namely, an exemption from paying their usual tribute every seventh year, because they were then forbidden to sow their fields, and consequently could reap no harvest. Struck by the simplicity and grandeur of their request, Alexander instantly granted it; and in addition declared that all the Jews throughout his vast dominions, including those who dwelt in Babylonia and Media, should have full toleration, and liberty to worship in the faith of their fathers; and the same privileges should be granted to all of the nation who chose to enter his army. Upon this numbers enlisted.

The nation continued to live according to their own laws, under the protection of the Macedonian kings, as they had done under the Persians; but, as their country lay between the two powerful kingdoms of Syria and Egypt, they were in a state of perpetual alarm, and sometimes obeyed the one, sometimes the other. Alexander, convinced of their fidelity, gave them the province of Samaria, with an exemption from tribute; and when he built Alexandria, he settled in it many of the Jews who had been among his victorious troops, granting them equal privileges with all the other citizens.<sup>10</sup> Afterwards, the

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<sup>10</sup> Josephus, *Ant.* xii. 1; et cont. *Ap. lib.* ii., c. 2.

first of the Ptolemies, having taken Jerusalem by surprise, and made many Jews captive, carried them to Egypt, and settled them there. They spread as far as Cyrene; but, finding how faithful they were to their religion and their oaths of allegiance, he put some of them into his garrisons, and treated them with such high favour, as to draw many more into the country.<sup>11</sup> It was Philadelphus, the son of this Ptolemy, who released all the captive Jews throughout his dominions, and sent magnificent presents to Jerusalem in exchange for a translation of the Holy Scriptures.<sup>12</sup>

The kings of Syria also favoured them, but their favour was dearly purchased, for each time the Egyptians gained an advantage, however trifling, over the Syrians, they wreaked their vengeance upon the Jews, who were nearest to them; and even the Syrians, when victorious, did not spare them; for the Seleucidæ considered their possessions lawful plunder. There were exceptions, however: thus, Seleucus Nicator gave them full rights of citizenship in the cities which he built in Asia Minor and Cœle Syria, and even in Antioch, his capital; and these privileges were continued to them in the time of the Romans. Thus, too, Antiochus the third, surnamed the Great, having received signal service from the Jews, granted important favours and immunities to Jerusalem; and so convinced was he of their fidelity, that, in order to secure the allegiance of Lydia and Phrygia, which were wavering, he established Jewish colonies there, giving them lands to cultivate and build on.<sup>13</sup> It appears to me, however, that in this conduct, the magnanimity of Antiochus has been overrated, since there are fair grounds for suspecting that his desire

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<sup>11</sup> Josephus, Ant. xii. 2.    <sup>12</sup> Aristæus, Hist. of Septuagint.

<sup>13</sup> Joseph. Ant. xii. 3.

was to uproot the ancient worship from the minds of the Jews ; and he deemed this object would be most effectually secured by removing them in detachments among strange nations, elevating them in the social scale, and giving them equal rights and immunities with other citizens. That this plan signally failed, is the best argument against those who, at the present day, maintain that, with equal legislative rights, the Jews will infallibly lose their religion and nationality. For the first privilege that they invariably demanded upon these occasions, wherever they settled, was liberty to exercise their religion and observe their laws. In minor matters, they adopted the Grecian customs, as they had formerly adopted those of the Chaldeans ; and they now first used the Greek language, which was at that time common in the East, and which so continued till the decline of the Roman Empire. Many Jews, moreover, adopted Greek names, as Philon, Andreas, and Philippus ; or Greek terminations engrafted upon Hebrew roots, as Jason for Jesus, Simon for Simeon, Hierosolyma for Jerusalem, etc.<sup>14</sup>

This period of Jewish history acquires additional interest as being that in which the Jews first crossed over to Europe ; and this was now a matter of facility for them, since those who understood Greek, were as much at home in any portion of the Grecian Empire in Europe as in Asia ; and it is well known that, two hundred years after the death of Antiochus, many Jews were settled in the cities of Greece. These colonists were styled Hellenists by their Eastern brethren.

The differences of character between the Jews and the Greeks, offer many interesting points of contrast, upon

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<sup>14</sup> Abbé Fleury on the Manners of the Jews.

which the historian would willingly linger, and which were of no small importance in the influence they exercised over the future fate of the former; for the Greeks were a curious and inquiring nation. At this period, weary of victory, and satiated with conquest, they were eager after novelty and excitement, and passionately addicted to all the softer arts; they were the French of antiquity.<sup>15</sup> The wise men and philosophers, possessing a translation of the Scriptures, regarded the Jews who settled among them with esteem and veneration:<sup>16</sup> the magnificence of their temple, their devotion, and the minute order of their ceremonies, excited wonder and admiration, even among royalty. But the majority of the people, addicted to pleasure and immorality, could ill brook the presence of so grave and severe a sect. For the chief studies of the Jews were morality, and the service of the Deity: they cultivated neither poetry, painting nor sculpture; their religion appeared austere and ridiculous;<sup>17</sup> their moral strictness was deemed a wanton insult; their sabbaths, fasts, and distinction of meats, were so many marks of offensive superiority. "They live separate from everybody else," says a Greek philosopher, "having nothing in common with us, neither altar, offerings, prayer, nor sacrifices. They are at a greater distance from us than the inhabitants of Susa, Bactria and India."<sup>18</sup>

It must be confessed that the Jews shewed a great lack

<sup>15</sup> The classical scholar will call to mind many passages of Horace and other authors, confirmatory of this description of the Greek character.

<sup>16</sup> Strabo, lib. xvi.

<sup>17</sup> "Judæorum mos tristis absurdusque." Tacitus, Hist. v. init. but Tertullian truly styles Tacitus "mendaciorum loquacissimus, "the most talkative of liars."

<sup>18</sup> Philostratus, vit. Apoll. lib. v., c. 2.

of policy in their conduct. That they should have abstained from actions and pursuits that they disliked, is but right; but they were too often led to evil, by an intemperate zeal, at the conduct and traditions of the Greeks, among whom they lived but by sufferance.<sup>19</sup> They were too apt to repeat from the Bible passages against idolaters and idols; they laughed at the idea of Homer being considered an inspired prophet; they sneered at the mythological genealogies, and expressed their horror at the amours and licentiousness of the gods and demigods of the Hellenic mythology. They loudly exclaimed against the scandalous impurities of the theatre, and the abominable ceremonies of Bacchus and Ceres.

The Greek philosophers, urged on by the popular voice, retorted with equal acrimony, and inveighed against the miracles and prodigies of scripture, explaining them all upon natural grounds.<sup>20</sup> The Greeks were naturally incensed at these reproofs, from a weak and scanty people; and the feelings of indignity, long time rankling in their breasts, were skilfully fostered by the Phœnicians and Egyptians, whose enmity to the Jews had but increased since the favour shewn to the latter by Alexander. Hence arose the false and silly calumnies related by the Greek Historians.<sup>21</sup>

Nor did the feeling of hatred cease with its expression. Acts of violent persecution followed. Thus Ptolemy Philopater, after the loss of the battle of Rapia, vented his spleen upon the Jews; and his son Epiphanes, provoked at their refusal to admit him into the sanctuary, was with difficulty restrained from exposing them to elephants.

<sup>19</sup> Orig. cont. Cels. lib. iv.

<sup>20</sup> Galen. de usu partium.

<sup>21</sup> Tacitus, Hist. lib. v., init. Justin, Hist. lib. xxxvi., c. 2, 3. Iab. lib. xvi.

(A.M. 3787). Heliodorus attempted to plunder the sacred treasures, and would have succeeded, but for a miracle.<sup>22</sup> At last, under Antiochus Epiphanes, began the greatest persecution that the Jews have ever suffered; the streets streamed with the blood of the victims, neither age nor sex was spared; beauty served but to inflame the savage lust of the brutal soldiery; Jerusalem was sacked, plundered and burned, on a sabbath day, and many heroic Jews died the death of martyrs for their God and their faith (A.M. 3834). These are admitted to be the first religious martyrs of whom ancient history makes mention. Josephus boldly upbraids the Greeks with their cruelty and want of faith. “Many captives,” says he,<sup>23</sup> “of our faith, have suffered all sorts of torment and death in the amphitheatres upon divers occasions, rather than speak the least word against the law and the scriptures; but where is the Greek that would not let all the books of his nation be burnt, sooner than suffer any harm himself?” The persecutions once commenced, continued with unabated force, and ended in provoking an obstinate and bloody resistance under the guidance of the heroic Maccabees (A.M. 3837).

Among the great characters of antiquity, the Maccabees hold a proud position, and the sanction of time has but increased their right to be considered as the truest of patriots. They stand out, indeed, in bright relief in the history of those troublous times:—as energetic in action as they were pious in thought, as forgetful of self as they were ever mindful of the Deity, as humble in prosperity as they were high-minded in adversity. In whatever light we view them, as statesmen, patriots, heroes, conquerors, citizens, or

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<sup>22</sup> 2 Maccabees iii. 7.

<sup>23</sup> Cont. Ap., lib. i.



priests, they offer one of the noblest spectacles the records of the world can produce. The history of their struggles is too well known to need repetition, and the change which they effected in the condition of their people, is the best tribute that can be paid to their devotion; for, under them, the Jews were no longer a poor and dependent people, with no loftier aspirations than to live at peace, submissive to the guidance of their priests and elders, and with no more ennobling idea of happiness than was to be derived from their domestic and agricultural pursuits. They became a powerful and independent state, supported by good troops and strong garrisons, and making honourable treaties and friendly alliances, not only with the neighbouring princes, but with remote kingdoms, nay, with the empress of the world herself;<sup>24</sup> so that the kings of Egypt and Syria, who had treated them so cruelly, were now glad to court their friendship, and submit to their terms.

Upon the death of Simon, the last of the three brothers, (A.M. 3869-3897), the government of the kingdom was left to John Hyrcanus, his son; an honourable treaty having been concluded with Rome. He extended the limits of his power by the victories he obtained over the Idumæans and Samaritans; he destroyed the temple of the latter;<sup>25</sup> and the cities of Sichem and Gerizim yielded before his triumphant arms. So complete was the conquest of Idumæa, that its inhabitants were enrolled among the believers in the Mosaic Law, and were incorporated with the Jews. It was John Hyrcanus who first established the Sanhedrim; and his reign was as eminently distinguished for progress in civilization as for success in war. It is now that we for the first time hear of the Pharisees, Sadducees,

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<sup>24</sup> Macc. xiv. 4, 18.

<sup>25</sup> Joseph. Ant. xiii. 17.



and Essenes, those famous sects, of whom the two former exercised so hostile and powerful an influence over the nation's destiny, and whose religion was but too often a cloak for their worldly designs; while the latter, abstaining from all interference in mundane affairs, lived in seclusion and ascetic retirement, and served as the model for every monastic institution that has since existed. Aristobulus, the son of Hyrcanus, first adopted the regal title, diadem, and state;<sup>26</sup> and Alexander Jannæus, his successor (A.M. 3899-3925), subdued Gaza, and waged a long and successful war against Egypt.

But this glory was of short duration; for, freed from the dread of foreign tyranny, intestine commotions arose, and religion and the right of succession were fruitful themes of discord. Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, the sons of Alexander Jannæus, disputed for the throne, and the claims of the former were seconded by the Pharisees. An arrangement was effected, by which the throne and high-priesthood were given up to Aristobulus; and Hyrcanus, who was of a quiet disposition, lived in privacy, in full enjoyment of his wealth. Thus (A.M. 3937) the Pharisees lost the power they had gained during the struggle. But the calm was only temporary. Hyrcanus was urged on all sides to vindicate his rights; and, to aid him in this purpose, he invited the assistance of Pompey, who was then in Syria. After a desperate siege (A.M. 3941), Pompey took Jerusalem, and conquered Judea. Hyrcanus was appointed high-priest and Ethnarch. Thus the independence of Judea was once more forfeited, the family of the Asmonæans lost its royal dignity, and the Jews paid tribute to Rome. In vain the sons of Aristobulus endeavoured, by repeated insurrections,

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<sup>26</sup> Joseph. Ant. xx. to xxiii.

to regain the power of which they had been deprived. The Roman empire kept the people enchained, and drained their resources. It is said, that, at different times, they took from them upwards of ten thousand talents, a sum equivalent to five millions of our present money. Treachery also aided the Romans, for while Antipater, an Idumæan, was apparently abetting the Asmonæans in their struggle, his son Herod was at Rome, intriguing to obtain the government. In this he succeeded (A.M. 3965); and having taken possession of the throne of Judea (after a long conflict with Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus, who would not relinquish it), he invited Hyrcanus to come to Jerusalem, where he sometime afterwards put him to death. Under the rule of Herod, who acquired the name of the Great, solely from his ability in maintaining his position amid the difficulties that surrounded him on every side, the nation gained no advantage. His foreign extraction was hateful; and the doubtful nature of his faith exercised an injurious influence over the Jewish religion, since the chief men of the state, being dependent upon him, copied his indifference to sacred matters. The murders which he committed in his own family, as well as the increasing exactions of the Romans, filled the people with discontent, and when he abolished the right of succession to the high-priesthood, and gave the holy office to individuals whose character disgraced it, their execration knew no bounds. At this period, the Christian era commences; and Herod survived his cruelties but a short time.

After the death of Herod, there was no longer any power in Judea: his feeble successor kept but part of the kingdom, and that only for a short time; Roman governors were appointed, depending upon the proconsul of Syria, and Judea sank to the level of a Roman province.

Smarting under a sense of the indignities they suffered, oppressed by the procurators, and precluded from the exercise of their religion, the infuriated Jews broke out into a fierce rebellion. It was the last act of their expiring nationality ; and even then, leagued against the most powerful nation in the world, and requiring every energy to be strained to the utmost, sectarian discussions arose, infused hatred into their camp, paralysed their arms, and finally delivered them into the hands of their implacable foes.

The history of the last siege of Jerusalem by Titus, is written in letters of blood on the heart of every Jew : it is one of the epochs in the annals of the world ; and even in our own times, though eighteen centuries have passed away since then, yet upon the anniversary of the disastrous day, every pious Israelite fasts and humbles himself before the Lord. It was during the feast of Passover, when multitudes were assembled in the holy city, that Titus made his first attack. But how different was the aspect of Jerusalem to that which it had presented in the olden time, at the period of this great solemnity ! Then all was peace, harmony, and happiness ; the inhabitants had journeyed thither from the most remote parts of Judea ; the perfume of the votive-offerings was ever acceptable to the Lord ; the voices of the worshippers swelled into a solemn and heartfelt thanksgiving, and the people listened with awe to the accents of the High-Priest, as he unfolded the Divine mysteries before them. Now all was confusion, noise, and dismay ; a dreadful enemy was encamped without the walls, breathing destruction to the devoted nation ; and within, the prospect was no less disastrous. John, with his armed retainers, was in possession of the temple, while Simon and his troops ruled in the city ; each day widened the breach between them, and slaughter and devastation

followed every display of their rival pretensions. Nor did Heaven look on unconcerned ; fearful prodigies and omens filled the sky ; famine struck terror into the boldest hearts ; terrific tempests fell upon the fated city, and the land was convulsed with repeated earthquakes. From every quarter, fanatics stalked forth, uttering curses against the doomed people, and bewailing the ruin of their beautiful Jerusalem. Yet the Jews did not quail ; for six long months the Roman army lay encamped without, battling day by day ; for six long months, in spite of dissension, famine, tempests, and death ; and more than all, in spite of the religious inactivity of the Sabbaths, did the gallant garrison defend their noble city with a valour that commanded the admiration even of their enemies. But at length victory declared itself for the Romans ; the walls, unceasingly battered since April, yielded one day in September ; step by step was fiercely contested, the siege became a series of single combats, and the conquerors marched into the city over the bodies of their vanquished foes. But the Temple, that holy building that had so often resounded with prayer and adoration, still resisted their onward career : as long as that stood, so long were the Jews unconquered : but when a brutal soldiery fired it, and its brave garrison perished in the flames, then, indeed, the Jews recognised that they were forsaken of heaven ; it was not till they saw that all was lost, that they awoke to the enormity of the crimes that had drawn down so fearful a retribution ; when the temple was destroyed, they passively yielded ; they met death carelessly and unresistingly : for what to them was life, bereft of all that made it dear ? And now commenced a fearful massacre : historians tell us that above a million of Jews had fallen during the siege of the city, and at its destruction. The greatest part of the populace was put to

the sword, and those who escaped death were either spared to grace the victor's triumph, or led once more into captivity; and were banished, sold, and dispersed into all parts of the world. There was no refinement of torture and suffering that the people did not undergo; those, even, who had taken refuge in the mountains, and among the ruins of their still-beloved city, were mercilessly hunted down, and compelled to abandon the country, now changed into a howling wilderness.

Thus perished the kingdom of Judea. The punishment was merited by a succession of crimes against both God and man. Heaven was weary of the cries that ascended to it from the victims of injustice and rapine. Rome was crowded with fugitives, who filled the forum with complaints of the rapacity and cruelty of the Jews:—and yet our sympathies are with the sufferers. For in losing Jerusalem, the Jews lost not only their temporal empire, but the dearest link that bound them to their spiritual faith was also severed; yet by the Divine mercy in preserving to them their Law, they forgot not their religion. They wandered forth into the world, shut out from their beauteous Jerusalem, as Adam of old had wandered forth banished from the garden of Eden: but even in captivity they were happier than he, for they had the promise of the Almighty, that they should once more regain their kingdom; that they should be gathered together from the four corners of the earth; and that the Temple should yet again resound with the harmony of the true worship; this idea, ever treasured up in their hearts, became the loadstone of their thoughts, the key to their most secret actions. Like a fountain springing up in the desert, and casting freshness and fragrance around in the arid solitude, so, even in the dreariest captivity, in the greatest

peril, in the dungeon, on the rack, at the scaffold, faith sustained them; and the thought was ever foremost, that their punishment was expiating the crimes of their ancestors, and would facilitate the return of their posterity to the Holy Land.

Dearly did the Jews pay for the obstinacy with which they had defended their hearths and their families; tortures of every kind were reserved for them: wherever Titus marched, miserable gangs of captives were dragged along to glut the victors with the sight of their sufferings: wherever a halt was made, the Romans held a festival, and sanctified it by the horrible spectacle of combats between the prisoners and wild beasts, or worse still, between gladiatorial bands of Jews, who were forced to massacre each other for the gratification of the ruthless conquerors: thus, at Cæsarea Philippi, the birth-day of Domitian, the brother of Titus, was celebrated by the murder of 2,500 Jews, in one or other of these manners; the birth-day of Vespasian was commemorated at Berytus with the same horrible festivities.<sup>27</sup>

With the fall of Jerusalem, the whole of Judea passed into the hands of the Romans: for though several strong cities resisted and were heroically defended, as Masada, Herodion and Machærus, still the invincible might of the Romans carried all before them, and the kingdom lay subjugated at their feet. Vespasian departed from the usual custom in not sharing the conquered territory among military colonists; for he ordered all the lands to be put up for sale, and the proceeds to be given to the imperial treasury.

From this period, the history of the Jews merges into that of the nations among whom they sojourned, and of

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<sup>27</sup> Joseph. lib. vii., c. 3.

whom they became an integral and component part. Unhappy as were their circumstances after the loss of their kingdom, they yet possessed advantages that no other people could have enjoyed in so sad a position. Their indomitable courage and industry, their unflagging zeal, the intensity of their religious feeling, and, above all, the possession of the Law and Holy Writings, every where secured to them a favourable reception, and tended to preserve inviolate their national and religious character. They wandered throughout the vast extent of the Roman dominions, settling wherever the country seemed favourable to their pursuits, and every where finding proselytes and old believers.

In the East, they spread as far as the Ganges, where they were a numerous and powerful body; for those who had chosen to remain there after the captivity of Babylon had greatly multiplied. Egypt, and the entire northern coast of Africa also, were filled with Jewish colonies. Palestine itself was by no means exhausted, for most of the populous regions and wealthy cities beyond the Jordan had escaped; and in Greece, Asia Minor, and Italy, there were thousands of Jews, enjoying all the privileges of citizenship. Thus, then, it was no long time after the subjugation of Judea, that an apparent form of government revived among the Jews, under the guise of two separate communities, for the most part independent of each other; the one under a purely spiritual sovereign who was styled, "The Patriarch of the West," and who ruled on this side of the Euphrates; the other, partly spiritual and partly temporal, rendered homage to the Prince of the Captivity, who dwelt first at Mahalia and afterwards at Bagdad, and who had dominion over all the Jews beyond the Euphrates.

It was at this time, that that spiritual aristocracy which



has since wielded so vast an influence over the Jewish mind, attained its highest pitch of eminence. To the historian, the progress of rabbinism offers a most interesting theme, as scarcely any other subject so well displays the growth and requirements of the human mind; and however much the validity of the rabbinical doctrines, and their assumption to divine origin be contested at the present day (matters into which it is not my present province to enter), certain it is, that the modern Jews owe a deep debt of gratitude to the rabbis, as but for their fostering care, the ancient faith might have sunk into desuetude and oblivion. For rabbinism had long been growing; and was an essential institution, springing from the very nature of the Jewish religion. To form a right value of its importance, we must have correct ideas as to the necessities of the times in which it arose: for the law was not to the ancient Jews what the Testament is to the modern Christians, or Al Koran to the Mahometans. It was far more: it not only served them in its high religious purpose of bringing them into communion with their Creator, and exhorting them to the practice of every virtue, but it was their criminal code and their statutes of jurisprudence; it held a strict supervision over their manners and customs, both as concerned their behaviour to strangers and to each other; it entered into the details of their hygiene and their domestic economy; it was the code of their daily conduct, and was as eminently conducive to a superior physical condition, as to a high state of morality and religion. But since the Law took cognizance of generalities only, and did not and could not specify rules for every particular case, it required an exposition to render it adapted to any immediate circumstances that might arise. Hence it became a profound and intricate study. The Jewish sages devoted to it their



whole time and attention, and many among them rose to peculiar eminence for their ingenuity in explaining knotty points, for their admirable knowledge of every passage, for their facility in quotation, and for their readiness in applying Scripture to the ordinary details of daily existence. Thus learning in the Law became the great distinction to which all alike paid reverential homage; and in which the Rabbis excelled. The Rabbis were for the most part independent of the priesthood; some, it is true, combined the two offices; but this was neither essential nor useful; for the priests performed the religious services according to the ritual, and the Rabbis expounded these services, taught their history and their meaning, and deduced from them rules for individual guidance. The transfer of spiritual authority from the priesthood to the Rabbis was slow and gradual, as indeed, all great changes must of necessity be; during the reign of the Asmonæans, the high priesthood was degraded almost to a regal appendage; but the learned in the law were perpetually struggling for dominion with the king; this tended to give the people confidence in them. During the time of Herod, the priesthood was filled with his dependents, who strove to obliterate all trace of Jewish customs, and to "Romanize" them; but this danger was frustrated by the Rabbis, who alone resisted the introduction of foreign manners; and who, by the constituted authority of the Sanhedrim, had power to carry their views into effect. But the great authority of the Rabbis was undoubtedly derived from the constant and intimate connection kept up by them with the mass of the people. They were consulted upon every important or extraordinary occasion; the order of the prayers, the formation of the calendar, the appointment of the fasts and feasts, the details of domestic habits, the cases in which the law was or was

not infringed; all the minutiae of the daily life of the people came under their jurisdiction, and gave to them the greatest source of influence in their possession.

Thus it was that the destruction of the temple, the final cessation of the ancient mode of worship, and the extinction of the priesthood, events which would have appeared fatal to so religious a nation as the Jewish, passed by without producing any marked effect. For a learned and powerful class of men—*learned* in their intimate knowledge of the law, *powerful* in the deep influence they exercised over the public mind—were ready to fill up the void, and to supply all that had been lost, and the people, who would otherwise have wandered amid the mazes of ignorance and superstition, gladly recognised the Rabbis as their legitimate head, and raised them to the dignity of a spiritual authority.<sup>28</sup>

Meantime the Romans watched the Jews with a jealous eye; for they too well knew their indomitable character to trust them with their own guidance. A garrison of eight hundred troops occupied the ruins of Jerusalem, to prevent any attempt at the reconstruction of the city: and during the reigns of Vespasian and Domitian, a war of extermination was carried on against all those who claimed descent from the family of David, in order to cut off, if possible, all hopes of a restoration of the royal house or of the Messiah. The unfortunate people were heavily taxed for the support of heathen temples, an impost most abhorrent to their feelings, and an unusual degree of

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<sup>28</sup> It is a matter of great regret to me to be compelled to curtail the history of Rabbinical influence within such very narrow limits. In what has been said, I have carefully avoided any reference to sectarian differences.

severity was exercised against them. At length, during the reign of Trajan, stung to desperation by the oppression of their enemies, and by their ardent desire for freedom, the Jews took advantage of the absence of the legions, who were in Parthia, and broke out into a fierce rebellion in every part of the Roman dominions. The flame, kindled in Egypt, spread to Cyrene, Cyprus, Babylonia, India, and Mesopotamia. It commenced by hostilities between the Jews and Greeks in Egypt. The implacable feud ever existing between these nations, had long been cowed by the presence of the Roman troops, but it burst forth with renewed fury upon their withdrawal. At first, the former gained the advantage, but the Greeks, having mastered Alexandria, put every Jew in that populous city to the sword. Maddened by the recollection of a long list of injuries, the Jews of Cyrene rose as one man, swept over the whole of Lower Egypt, increasing like a mighty stream by the way, penetrated into Thebais, and exacted the most dreadful retribution. They gave way to the most dreadful barbarities; their foes were thrown to the wild beasts, or forced to fight in the theatres as gladiators,—cruelties for which the Jewish annals afforded too many precedents. It is said, that, in Egypt, a quarter of a million of Greeks were slain. The revolt spread to Cyprus. The Jews rose there with remorseless vengeance, and massacred two hundred and forty thousand Greeks; and the beautiful island was left a solitary desert. But Hadrian, who was at that period general of the Roman troops, roused from his surprise, suppressed the further progress of the revolt, and took fearful revenge on the Jews. It is said, that, in Cyprus and Cyrene, six hundred thousand of them were slain. Scarcely was quiet established, when couriers arrived in breathless haste, announcing that the Jews were

in arms in Mesopotamia ; nor were they subdued until after a fierce and bloody struggle.

And now Hadrian ascended the Roman throne ; he was indeed not likely to entertain a favourable opinion of his Jewish subjects. He had been an eyewitness of the horrible scenes that had desolated the lovely island of Cyprus ; he had seen the voluptuous Idalian groves reeking with blood and tainted with the recent carnage of their inhabitants, and the gay and splendid cities reduced to the silence of desolation. Hardly had he been proclaimed Emperor, when an edict was issued, interdicting circumcision, the reading of the law, and the observance of the Sabbath ; and, worse than all, a Roman colony was established at Jerusalem, and a fane, dedicated to Jupiter, was erected on the site of the fallen temple.

The Jews were now indeed drinking of the cup of misery. Deprived of their country, their home, their law and their religion, fanaticism struck deep into their souls, and they waited their time in the sullen silence of despair. Suddenly a rumour arose that the Messiah had appeared ; it spread from mouth to mouth, from country to country ; he had come in the glory and splendour of prophecy ; miracles heralded his approach ; he breathed fiery flames from his mouth ; the greatest rabbis acknowledged his claims. Akiba himself loudly proclaimed that the “ Son of the Star ” was the Messiah foretold in the Divine writings. Throughout every land, the Jews rose as one man. Legion after legion of the Roman army sank before their fiery zeal, like chaff scattered by the wind ; the greatest generals paused, appalled at the fierceness of the revolt. Severus himself declined battling with them, and preferred to carry on a defensive war.<sup>29</sup> Two hundred

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<sup>29</sup> Dion Cassius, edit. Reimeri.

thousand Jewish troops, fully armed and equipped, took the field. The Christians stood aloof, and would not recognise this new Messiah, who revenged himself by cruelly persecuting them. Jerusalem was triumphantly taken; Barcochab was crowned king of Judea; and for three years the standard of the Messiah waved from the turrets of the holy city. Fifty of the strongest castles of Judea were manned by Jewish garrisons; a thousand villages were defended by Jewish troops. But at length the tide of victory turned: the consummate generalship of Severus, lately perfected by contesting with the valorous though barbarian Britons, overcame every obstacle. After a hard contest, Jerusalem fell into the power of the Romans, and was razed to the ground. Turnus Rufus, in the bitterness of revenge, passed a plough over the ruins of the devoted city. At the siege of Bither, the headquarters of the Jews, the pretended Messiah was slain by the treachery of a Samaritan, and his head was carried in triumph to the Roman camp; and on the trebly-fatal 9th of Ab, the last Jewish stronghold was razed to the ground. And now commenced a dreadful massacre; more are said to have fallen at Bither than departed with Moses out of Egypt. Six hundred thousand Jews were put to the sword; the horses waded up to the bits in carnage.<sup>30</sup> All Judea was a desert; and hyenas and jackals went howling along the streets of the desolate cities. Hundreds of thousands were carried into captivity; the chief rabbis were barbarously slain. Akiba was flayed alive; Chanania was burned by the conflagration of a pile of books, among which he was fastened to a stake; Judah was pierced by three hundred spears. Jerusalem was utterly annihilated; a new city,

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<sup>30</sup> Dion Cassius.

which received the name of *Alia Capitolina*, was built on its site, and Jews were forbidden, under pain of death, to come within sight of its environs.<sup>31</sup>

For the fourth time the Jewish people seemed on the brink of extermination; Nebuchadnezzar, Antiochus, Titus, and Hadrian, had each done his utmost utterly to destroy the existence of the nation and the religion; no means of persecution was left untried; hunger, fire, misery, disease, the sword and pestilence, each and all aided in the work of destruction, but in vain: the vivifying power of faith was not to be overcome by human agency, and the Jewish nation, Antæus-like, seemed to acquire new vigour each time it was cast to the earth. In less than sixty years after the war with Hadrian, the two governments of which mention has already been made, under the Patriarch of Tiberias, the Prince of the Captivity, acquired an amazing degree of power and influence. Under the mild rule of the Emperor Antoninus, the Jews were restored to their ancient privileges, and allowed the full exercise of their faith; they were eligible for municipal honours, and the only restriction under which they laboured, was a prohibition against proselytism—which has never been a feature of the Hebrew religion.<sup>32</sup>

The patriarch was recognised by the government as the spiritual chief; he was empowered to appoint his subordinate ministers and apostles, to exercise domestic jurisdiction, to receive from his brethren an annual contribution towards the maintenance of his dignity, and to erect new schools and synagogues wherever he thought that a ne-

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<sup>31</sup> This pretended Messiah was named *בר כוכב*, "the Son of a Star;" but this was changed, after his defeat, to *בר כוזב*, "the Son of a Lie."

<sup>32</sup> Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*.

cessity for them existed. After many migrations, the pontifical throne was finally established at Tiberias, a noble city on the shore of the sea of Galilee, and Simon, the son of Gamaliel, was acknowledged as the patriarch, and the president of the Sanhedrim; and in every region of the west, in every province of the Roman empire, Jews of all ranks and classes cheerfully recognised his spiritual authority. His mandates were obeyed, his nuncios received with due honour, his ambassadors recognised, and his supplies levied without difficulty in Rome, in Spain, and in Africa. Thus Origen, one of the most trustworthy of the early Christian writers, says:—"Even now, when the Jews are under the dominion of Rome, and pay the didrachm, how great by the permission of Cæsar, is the power of their Ethnarch! I myself have been a witness that it is little less than that of a king. For they pass judgments according to their law, and some are capitally condemned, not with open and acknowledged authority, but with the connivance of the emperor.<sup>33</sup> This I have learned and am fully acquainted with, by long residence in their country."

Let us here pause to take a survey of the extent of dominion, over the Jews of which the Patriarch of the West held undisputed sway. The following passage of Philo, a Jewish writer who lived as early as the reign of Caligula, and wrote about the fortieth year of the Christian era, will shew how widely the Jews had spread, even at that early period:—"Jerusalem is the city of my ancestors, the metropolis not only of Judea, but of many other provinces, in consequence of the colonies which it has at different times sent out into the neighbouring countries, Egypt, Phœnicia, Syria, and Cœlesyria; and into more distant

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<sup>33</sup> Probably Alexander Severus is here alluded to.



regions, Pamphylia, Cilicia, the greatest part of Asia Minor, as far as Bithynia, and the remote shores of the Euxine; so also into Europe, into Thessaly, Bœotia, Macedonia, Ætolia, Attica, Argos, Corinth, and into most, and those the best parts, of the Peloponnesus; and not only are the continents full of Jewish colonies, but the principal islands also, Eubœa, Cyprus, and Crete. I say nothing of the countries beyond the Euphrates, for all of them, except a small portion, particularly Babylon, and the Satrapies of the rich adjacent districts, have many Jewish inhabitants.”<sup>34</sup>

The various persecutions the Jews had suffered from the Romans, served rather to increase than to check their influx into foreign countries; and they wandered far and wide in search of that toleration which was denied to them nearer home. Their origin in Syria and Egypt has already been noticed. In Asia Minor, they owed their first establishment to Antiochus the Great; and it has been shewn that they spread from thence to every part of the Grecian possessions both in Europe and Asia. Christian authors mention their numbers in Bithynia, Galatia and Cappadocia; and the flourishing cities of Ephesus, Athens, Corinth, Laodicea, Pergamus, Miletus, Halicarnassus, and Thessalonica, reckoned many Jews among their most opulent inhabitants, and gave them the full privileges of citizenship.

There can be no doubt that the Jews first entered Rome as slaves, and were brought there by Pompey after his conquest of Jerusalem; they were publicly sold in the markets along with the Christian slaves, and were generously manumitted by their purchasers.<sup>35</sup> Tacitus states

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<sup>34</sup> Philo, ad Agrippam.

<sup>35</sup> Philo.



that there were 4,000 Jewish freed slaves residing in Rome, and Josephus says that 8,000 were present when Archelaus appeared before Augustus. They dwelt for the most part in the Transtiberine region; and Basnage maliciously proves against his Catholic opponents, that they were at one time possessors of the Vatican.<sup>36</sup> They shared with others of their class in the periodical distribution of corn; and, by a special edict of Augustus, their portion was reserved for them, if the distribution happened to fall on a Saturday. It seems to have been at one time the fashion for the idle youth of Rome to saunter to the Synagogue on Saturdays.<sup>37</sup>

At this early period, the Jews in Rome underwent many persecutions. Tiberius expelled them and drafted them into his regiments on duty in the unhealthy station of Sardinia. Caligula oppressed them, and Clodius again drove them forth; but they always returned, and, after the destruction of Jerusalem, their numbers were immensely increased. Many passages from Juvenal, Martial, and other satirists, will occur to the classical reader in confirmation of these facts. As to their establishment in the other provinces of Rome, we have less certain information. In the middle ages, most extraordinary fables were invented concerning their first settlement in Germany, France, and Spain; but there can be no doubt that, as the Roman dominions increased, so the Jews spread with them, partly as slaves, partly as soldiers, and partly as traders.

Flushed with the extent of his power and dominion, Simon, the Patriarch of Tiberias, could ill brook the equality of the Prince of the Captivity, and the rival thrones were at perpetual enmity. The schisms generally had a religious origin, and the most famous quarrel arose

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<sup>36</sup> Basnage, *History of the Jews*.

<sup>37</sup> Horace, *Sat. i* IX.

concerning the calculation of the Passover. In this the Patriarch was successful, and, by a truly ecclesiastical stratagem, he obtained the deposition of the Prince of the Captivity, and, until the political separation of the Western from the Babylonian Jews, at the restoration of the Persian monarchy, the Patriarchate held undisputed sway. Jehuda the Holy succeeded his father Simon in his dignity; and it was during his pontificate, and by his authority, that the Mishna was embodied.

The rival throne of the Prince of the Captivity, in Babylonia, now again began its ascent towards a splendour that attained its zenith under the Persian monarchs; the court was indeed dazzling; the officers, councillors and cup-bearers were all men of influence; rabbis were appointed as satraps over the various provinces, and a tribute for the support of all this dignity was cheerfully paid by the people. Their schools, too, rose to great estimation, and though it was the fashion for the Palestinian rabbis to speak contemptuously of their Babylonian brethren, yet it is questionable whether the schools of Sura, Nahardea and Pumbeditha, could not compete in talent with those of Sepphoris and Tiberias. The extent of dominion over which the authority of the Prince of the Captivity reached, is not, and cannot be known, for the limits of Persia form an insuperable obstacle to research, and the history of almost the whole of the rest of Asia was at this time lost amid impenetrable darkness. There must have been many Jews settled in Arabia, for Mahommed found them a numerous and powerful race, and one of the native thrones was possessed by a Jewish dynasty. In China, too, we know, on the authority of Gozarni and subsequent travellers, that Jews existed prior to the commencement of the Christian era. There were originally seventy

families of them, and they settled in the cities of Ningpo, Ningheri, Hamtchen, Peking and Kaifongfou; they observed the rites of the Hebrew religion, practised circumcision, intermarried only among themselves, and kept the Sabbath most rigidly. Mention has already been more than once made of the spread of the Jews in Mesopotamia and Persia, and Christian writers speak of their existence throughout the Parthian dominions.<sup>33</sup>

But I think it will be new to the generality of my readers to be told, that in the far interior of Africa, in the wilds of Abyssinia, among the savage Gallas, and in the kingdom of Shoa, where, until lately, European feet had never trodden, Jews not only exist and flourish, but are divided into sects, holding modified views with regard to various tenets of their faith. They speak a language different to that of the fierce tribes by whom they are surrounded, and of which the few fragments that have reached us, are almost pure Hebrew (as "*Min Aba*," who is his father? "*Kedis Kedisem*," the sanctuary of their house of prayer, &c., &c.); they observe the sabbath on a Saturday; their place of worship is divided precisely as was the Temple of Jerusalem, in three parts, one for the laity, one for the priests, and an interior (the true *Kedis Kedisem*) containing the sacred ark, and exclusively reserved for the High Priest, who takes the title of King of Israel;—and they practise circumcision, and all the rites of the faith. But there is a distinct sect among the mountains, named the *Fedastras*, who trace their descent from Solomon, and who live perfectly separate from the others, upon whom they look down with contempt, as they deem them tainted by intermixture with the tribes around. There

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<sup>33</sup> Acts.

is an old tradition among them that a queen of Ethiopia, Maqueda by name, visited King Solomon; and, upon her return home, a son, Menilek was born to her; he was educated at Jerusalem, and anointed king; and upon his return to Ethiopia, he brought with him many learned men, and the Holy Ark, which he had stolen. His descendants kept the throne until the tenth century of the Christian era, when they were displaced, and retired to the mountains, where their posterity still dwell.<sup>39</sup>

Thus, even at this early period, the Jewish nation was widely spread over every part of the known world; and the middle of the third century (Christian era) beheld it incorporated into its two communities of the Patriarchate and Caliphate. During the four or five succeeding centuries, we have to watch it in its struggles against three successive religions, all of which have, in turn, exercised the greatest influence over the human race. I allude to the Magian, the Christian, and the Mahometan faiths.

I. As has been already stated, the Prince of the Captivity did not attain his most splendid dignity, until after the Persian dynasty had regained its independence. The re-appearance of the Magian religion as the dominant faith of the East, after having been hid among the mountains of Iran for centuries, is one of the most remarkable events in religious history. It arrested at once the progress of Christianity in the East, and threw it back upon the western provinces of Asia, and upon Europe. But it exerted no such influence upon Judaism; there were, it is true, certain Jewish tenets which were inconsistent with its practice, as

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<sup>39</sup> Further information upon this curious subject may be derived from Major Harris's "Backwoods of Ethiopia." Also see some interesting articles in the "Jewish Chronicle."

burying the dead, burning a perpetual light, etc. ; but these were connived at, and, under the Magian rule, the Jews acquired an amazing degree of power, and the Prince of the Captivity gained his greatest supremacy. That they must have enjoyed a high degree of toleration and peace, is proved by the fact, that it was during this period, that the rabbis composed the Babylonian Talmud.

II. But in the West, Christianity made rapid strides, and with Constantine ascended the imperial throne, and became the established religion of the Roman empire. It had been one of the earliest and dearest hopes of the zealous supporters of the Christian faith, that since Pagans were so readily led to acquiesce in its doctrines, the Jews, to whose religion it more nearly approximated, would be gladly led to embrace it. But in this hope they were doomed to be disappointed ; and it is to this disappointment that we must attribute all the persecutions that followed. The patriarchate of Tiberias, though its power was on the wane, had still sufficient influence to send forth nuncios to every Synagogue, warning the faithful against the new heresies, promising them temporal happiness and eternal bliss if they were steadfast, threatening them with excommunication and everlasting punishment, if they wavered. With the usual zeal of a convert, Constantine promulgated severe edicts against the obstinate Jews, but his proselytizing mania was of no avail ; and persecution served but to sink the proscribed tenets deeper into the hearts of the oppressed. Spain, ever the first to kindle the torch of religious cruelty, had already given the signal for hostilities against the Jews, by refusing permission to the Jewish farmers to offer up prayers for the harvest, lest (as the Council of Elvira sagely feared) they might interfere with the success of a more orthodox worship. The Jews in the East

retaliated, and joining with the Magians, excited a furious persecution against the Christians. Then again they mixed themselves up in the feud between the Arians and Athanasians in Alexandria, and took advantage of every opportunity that offered itself for revolt in Judea. New edicts followed; burthens and taxes were increased; Jews were forbidden to possess Christian slaves; and were rigorously excluded from even approaching the Holy City. With the reign of Julian the Apostate, a brighter era dawned for them; he reinstated them in all their privileges, oppressed the Christians, and allowed preparations to be made for rebuilding the temple in Jerusalem—a permission which was taken advantage of with amazing alacrity; and precious stores of all kinds were sent from every part of the world to aid in the great design. But all these hopes were frustrated by the death of Julian, and though the reign of his successor, Jovian, was short, it lasted a sufficient time for the reimposition of the oppressive edicts.

Under Valens and Valentinian, the Jews gained the full rights of citizenship, but were no longer exempted from public and military services; indeed the declining power of the Roman empire could not spare so valuable an auxiliary. With the rise of Christianity, during the fall of Rome, the power of Judaism also declined, and it often became a source of contention between the Church and the throne. Meantime the patriarchate was fast sinking to decay. Bribery, corruption, and venality, which were everywhere rife at this period, interfered with the due discharge of its functions, and the support it ever willingly afforded the Arians, bitterly incensed the dominant church. One of the greatest causes of quarrel between the Jews and Christians, during these early times, was the pertinacity with which the former erected the gibbet on which they

annually hung Haman in effigy, in the shape of a cross, the holiest emblem of sanctity in the eyes of the latter. Theodosius the Second prohibited this commemoration ; it gave rise to tumults in Macedonia, Dacia, Illyria, and Syria. On every side attempts were made at proselytism ; in Minorca by force of arms, and in Crete by stratagem, these were partially successful. But instances of a better state of feeling are not wanting ; thus it is recorded that, at the death of the pious Hilary, in his diocese of Poitiers, in Gaul, the Jews chanted their Hebrew lamentations to the memory of the Christian Bishop. Sidonius Apollinarius mentions many similar traits of good feeling.

At length, after a rule of three centuries, the Patriarchate expired in the person of Gamaliel. The sole effect produced by this, was a diminution of the number of Jews in Palestine ; and the spiritual dominion passed into the hands of the rabbinical aristocracy ; for so long as the Holy writings remained among the people, there was no fear of defection from a change in the hierarchy.

Rome itself did not long survive the Patriarchate ; the irruption of the northern barbarians, during the fourth and fifth centuries, while it completely destroyed the empire, exerted a mighty change in the fortunes of all its inhabitants. The Jews were dispersed throughout every country over which the storm fell ; in Belgium, along the course of the Rhine, in Germany, Italy, Gaul, and Spain ; but having no local attachment to any of these countries, they were ever ready to leave them as commerce or fortune dictated, and by the constant correspondence kept up with their brethren throughout the world, they took advantage of every information, and were always on the alert to guard against surprises and revolts. Everywhere they preserved a certain degree of civilization by means of their schools,



which, during the confusion consequent on the destruction of the old, and the formation of new, states by the barbarians, not only preserved their existence, but obtained them influence and authority. They made themselves masters of the trade of the world ; and in one species of commerce, the internal slave-trade of Europe, they acquired an unenviable notoriety. This had early attracted the attention of the Christians, who could ill brook that their brethren should be bought and sold like cattle, by a people whom they hated and reviled. Council after council promulgated edicts against it ; Constantine had prohibited it long ago ; Honorius had made it criminal to convert Christian slaves to Judaism ; the council of Orleans (c.E. 540) appointed places of asylum, where fugitive slaves might take shelter ; the Council of Maçon (c.E. 582) fixed the price of their redemption ; the fourth Council of Toledo (c.E. 633) was forced to recognise the legality of this trade ; and the tenth of the same place complained that the Christian clergy were as great slave-dealers as the Jews (c.E. 655). The pope, Gregory the First, in his pastorals, recommended the attention of his vicars to this subject, as rumours of many grievances of the kind had reached him. Letters of his are still extant, in which he writes to foreign courts—to Thierry and Theodobert, kings of the Franks ; to queen Brunehaut ; to Leo, bishop of Catania and Sicily ; to Fortunatus, bishop of Naples ; to Candius, a presbyter in Gaul ; to Januarius, bishop of Sardinia, and others ; directing their attention to the prevalence of this traffic, the legality of which could not be denied, however much its morality might be called into question.<sup>40</sup>

III. Scarcely had the elements of civilization assumed

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<sup>40</sup> Milman's History of the Jews, vol. iii., pp. 214 et seq.



some appearance of order after the inroads of the barbarians, and the kingdoms of the Goths, the Vandals, the Lombards, and the Franks, successively arisen on the remains of the Roman empire, when Mahometanism suddenly broke forth, and, with irresistible rapidity, spread through Asia, the north of Africa, and Spain, overthrowing all the governments, changing all the manners, and destroying all the religions that opposed its onward career. The Persian kingdom fell at once, and the Magian religion sank as rapidly as it had risen. Except in Armenia, Christianity in Asia was a nonentity; a mosque flourished on mount Moriah; the Koran was read in all the churches of Africa; and the cross found a precarious refuge among the mountain-fastnesses of the Asturias, while the crescent glittered over the fruitful vallies of Iberia, and the splendid palaces of Granada and Cordova.

So mighty a revolution could not leave the Jews unaffected; and though in many instances they were persecuted and oppressed by the Moslemin, yet, upon the whole, the change was highly favourable, and they reached the highest pitch of glory and magnificence under the romantic sway of the Moors in Spain.

The Jews were among the first whom Mahomet endeavoured to proselytize, as they were the first opponents and the first victims of his faith. For centuries, a Jewish kingdom had existed in the heart of Arabia, unconnected with either the Babylonian or the Palestinian Jews; cities and castles owned their sway, and a regular succession of monarchs mounted their throne. The feuds between Christianity and Judaism spread even among this secluded tribe, and after a series of obstinate conflicts and successive triumphs and reverses, the Christians prevailed, to be in their turn vanquished by the conquering Persians. But though

they had lost their royal state, the Jews in Arabia were still numerous and powerful ; they formed separate tribes, and maintained the fierce independence of their Ishmaelitish brethren. It was Mahomet's dearest wish to unite all these separate tribes under his banner ; and hence arose the respect which the wily prophet feigned for Moses. The Koran is filled with passages borrowed from the books of the law ; Abraham is one of its greatest heroes ; swine's flesh is as hateful to the Moslem as to the Jew ; and Jerusalem was appointed the first Kebla of prayer. In every practicable detail, the Mahometan faith approximated to the Mosaic. But the Jews stood aloof ; pride restrained them from acknowledging a Messiah sprung from the loins of the despised Hagar. Faith forbade their belief in the absurd rhapsodies of the Koran. And now the tone of Mahomet changed. The Israelites were taunted with the remembrance of their former obstinacy and rebellion, and a war of extermination was declared. Tribe after tribe was summoned to embrace Islamism, or to prepare for death. All chose the latter alternative. The tribe of Kainoka in Medina fell the first, after an obstinate and bloody siege ; next came that of Naohir ; Koraidha followed ; and the Jews of Khaibar, after a vigorous resistance, were forced to yield to the Moslem Conqueror. But beyond Arabia, the Jews were unharmed by the Mahometans ; they were suffered to live in peace in Alexandria, where Amrou found forty thousand of them ; and in Spain they were borne triumphantly over the heads of their Christian oppressors.

For the Jews had accumulated a heavy debt of hatred against Spain ; it had ever been the foremost in their persecutions ; it had ever been the last to sheath the sword of religious hostility. From the earliest times, the Gothic

kings of the Peninsula had vied with each other in wreaking vengeance upon the devoted people ; the councils of Toledo had strenuously endeavoured to root out the heretics, and yet, strange to say, one of these very councils was compelled to issue edicts against the increased conversion of Christians to Judaism. The hatred of the Christians, however, overreached itself ; for the laws they enacted against the Jews were too oppressive, and could not be carried into effect ; they caused many Jews, however, to quit the country, and those who remained, were ground down by misery, oppression, and fear. Could it then be a matter of wonder that they should rejoice when the opposite shore of Africa gleamed with the tents of the Saracens ? or when Tarik crossed the narrow strait that flowed between the continent and the peninsula ? Even now the bigoted Spaniards seized upon a pretext for persecution, alleging that the invaders had been invited by the Jews ; but when the Saracen troops arrived, and regiment after regiment marched into the devoted land, they saw their error too late, and vainly endeavoured to call back to the defence of their country, those whom they had previously driven from it in ignominy and shame. The Jews did indeed return, but not as they had left ; they came in glory and splendour with the Moorish caliphs who established their power over almost the whole of Spain. Then followed a golden age for the persecuted race ; they shared with the Saracens all the beauties and luxuries that nature and art could produce to embellish existence in a southern clime ; but the languor of this terrestrial paradise did not spread itself to their minds, for some of the brightest emanations of Jewish genius proceed from the reign of the Moors in Spain.

The period of Mahometan supremacy has been not

inaptly termed the golden age of the modern Jews. "To them the Moslem crescent was as a star which seemed to soothe to peace the troubled waters, on which they had so long been agitated. Throughout the dominions of the caliphs, in the East, in Africa and in Spain; in the Byzantine empire; in the dominions of those great sovereigns, Charlemagne, his predecessor and successor, who restored vigour and solidity to the Christian empire of the West, and enabled it to repel the yet unexhausted inroads of Mahometanism; everywhere we behold the Jews not only pursuing unmolested their lucrative and enterprising traffic, not merely merchants of splendour and opulence, but suddenly emerging to offices of dignity and trust, administering the finances of Christian and of Mahometan kingdoms, and travelling as ambassadors between mighty sovereigns."<sup>41</sup>

This golden age was of very different duration in various parts of the world; in the East, the religious dissensions of the Jews themselves interfered with its continuance; in the Byzantine empire, we are unable to fix any limits to it. In the West of Europe it sank beneath persecution from without; in Spain it was the most glorious and enduring, as it was succeeded by the bitterest intolerance and oppression. The dying injunction of the prophet, that there should be but one faith in Arabia, was religiously obeyed, but beyond the sacred peninsula, there was complete toleration. The habits and tone of thought of the Jews were admired and imitated by the victorious Moslem; the Oriental scholar cannot fail to be struck with the close similarity that exists between the two languages, both members of the great Indo-European family; the romances and legendary tales of the Jews harmonized well with the

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<sup>41</sup> Milman, *op. cit.*, vol. iii. p. 269.

poetical spirit of the Arabian mind ; their literary disputations served as models of refinement and style to the discriminating taste of the fastidious Saracens. In the reign of Omar, the second caliph, and his successor, the management of the mint was given into the hands of Jews ; and the Prince of the Captivity, who long survived the rival patriarch, was formally recognised as the supreme representative of the Jewish community. At a later period, under Abn Giafar Almansor (c. E. 753), the imposts of the caliphate were collected by Jews ; and the schools of Sura and Pumbeditha attained the meridian of their reputation, and were crowded with attentive students. Freed from the restraint that had long fettered its powers, the Jewish mind made bold and rapid progress, a spirit of inquiry was abroad, and Rabbinism was shaken to its very basis. The Karaites, who had never been extinct, rose to be a formidable sect ; for a long time cowed by the superior power of Rabbinism and Pharisaism, it had scarcely dared to give signs of its existence ; but now it roused itself to a vigorous resistance ; the Cabala, the Mishna, the Gemara, the Rabbinical writings and the Talmudic lore were indignantly thrown aside, and the letter of the written law was rescued from the mass of commentary under which it had long lain buried.

A great kingdom was formed on the west of the Caspian sea, under the title of Khozar, by a nomade Turcoman tribe, the king of which embraced Judaism, and the profession of this faith became inseparable from the crown. This dynasty lasted 270 years, and a correspondence between one of its kings, Joseph, and R. Hasdai, the confidant of Abderrahman, caliph of Cordova is still extant.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> The truth of the existence of this kingdom has given rise to

If we consider the condition of the Jews in the West at this period, we no longer behold a constant succession of persecution and misery; but we see them the companions and confidential ministers of princes. All that we know for certainty of their state in the Byzantine empire is, that they were under the avowed protection of the emperors, which they occasionally forfeited by their iconoclastic zeal.

In Italy they enjoyed peace and protection, so that their annals present nothing worthy of comment. In France, the persecutions of Clotaire and Dagobert, and the hostility of the Councils of Rheims and Châlons, were replaced by the conciliating sway of Charlemagne and Louis le Débonnaire; Jewish commerce, now unrestricted, kept up a perpetual communication between Marseilles, Narbonne, and Eastern Ports. Of the two prefects of Narbonne, one was always a Jew; the finest portion of the city of Lyons was reserved as the Jewish quarter; and the once condemned race became the physicians, the financial ministers, and the ambassadors of the French monarchs. Thus Isaac was accredited as the envoy between the courts of Aix-la-Chapelle and Bagdad, and received equal honours from Charlemagne and the Caliph Haroun-al-raschid. The most confidential adviser of Louis le Débonnaire, the successor of Charlemagne, was a Jewish physician, Zedekiah:—a species of representative of the nation had his residence in the court. Fairs and markets that were formerly held on Saturdays, were altered to another day for their conveni-

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much argument among the learned; Basnage discredited the whole affair, but Des Guignes, and the late accounts of Russian authorities, demonstrate its existence. Jost believes in the truth of it, so does Milman also; the whole has been worked up into a religious romance, well known under the title of Cosri.

ence : all disputes between Jews and Christians were settled by the evidence of an equal number of witnesses of both creeds ; their vessels crowded the ports, their bales encumbered the quays, their slaves thronged the streets. Bishops who attempted to exclude them from equal privileges, were ignominiously dismissed, and there seemed more probability of Christians embracing Judaism than the contrary.

With the reign of Charles the Bald, however, signs of the approaching storm manifested themselves ; the Jewish children at Lyons were seduced from their parents, and converted to Christianity ; the thunders of the councils were again launched forth : that of Meaux excluded all Jews from civic offices, that of Paris was even more stringent ; with the death of Charles they fell into the power of petty independent princes, whose rapacity exacted instant tribute under the penalty of rapine and massacre.

But it was in Spain that the alien people attained their highest splendour ; they rivalled the Saracens in their advancement in wealth, power, and talent ; they enjoyed equal rights and privileges ; they had even a disproportionate share of honours and dignities, both ministerial and confidential, and their commerce spread to every part in the known world. They enjoyed so high a reputation that the Talmud was translated into Arabic for the study of the Saracens, and the Arabico-Judaic literature of the school of Cordova, will perpetuate their fame as long as history shall exist. From this line sprang the proudest boast of Jewish talent, the great Maimonides, that wondrous theologist, philosopher, and physician, of whom an admiring world may well say, " From Moses to Moses there was no one to be compared with Moses."

Such was the modern golden age of Judaism ; we have



now to turn to a darker picture. Released from the fear of the spread of Mahometan power, and incited by the wealth of the Jews, the Christians throughout the world seem to have entered into a vast conspiracy to persecute the nation, and to drain both the treasure and the blood of the devoted race. With unexampled fury, kingdom after kingdom sounded the tocsin of oppression. Spain, which had witnessed their greatest glory, doomed them to their deepest shame; and the inquisition inflicted a curse upon the power that called it into being, from which it has never yet recovered, and to which the desolation that still lingers upon that unhappy country, is mainly to be attributed.

And yet, great as were the wrongs inflicted by a mis-called Christianity, the truthful historian finds much to blame on the part of the Jews themselves. In those days they had been so long used to captivity and persecution, that they knew not how to make a prudent use of the toleration they enjoyed, and those whom persecution tended to knit more closely together, freedom and power served but to disunite. In the tenth century, feuds arose between the Prince of the Captivity and the heads of the schools, the peace of the Jews was violently disturbed; they were thrown into two conflicting parties, and the rapacious sovereign, who at that time occupied the throne of the Caliphs, stepped in and took advantage of the passions of both factions, to subjugate them under his own power.

In Palestine they underwent a slower but more complete dissolution; during the twelfth century, Tyre had but four hundred Jewish inhabitants, chiefly engaged in glass-blowing; in Jerusalem there were but two hundred wool-dyers, of which trade they possessed a monopoly. Ascalon contained one hundred and fifty-three, and Tiberias, that stately city, once the seat of the Patriarchate, and the head-quarters



of literature and philosophy, but fifty.<sup>43</sup> In the Byzantine empire, the same authority informs us that their numbers were much diminished; in Corinth there were but three hundred, in Thebes, two thousand, mostly workers in silk and dyers. Two hundred were agriculturists in the valleys at the foot of Mount Parnassus. Patras and Lepanto had scarcely any Jewish population. Constantinople but two thousand merchants and workers in silk, and five hundred Karaites.

At this period none of the great changes which successively shook society to its very basis in the West, passed away without inflicting grievous injury to the devoted people. In the feudal system they alone found no proper place; their services were not an object of profit to the lords, and they were considered as a fief of the crown. In Italy, in addition to the doubtful protection of the Emperor, they were supposed to be under the special jurisdiction of the Papal see; in France they were vassals of the powerful feudatories; in the North, of the King. Thus it was that they were gradually detached from the cultivation of the soil, which had in olden times been their national occupation, for they were eminently an agricultural people; but deprived of all protection, and subjected at any moment to the whim and caprice of the lord of the estate, they relinquished so precarious a mode of existence, and preferred the chances of commerce and a nomade life.

Chivalry, too, that splendid curse of the middle ages, brought to *them* nothing but persecution; for religious fanaticism was essential to its very existence; and the growing power of the clergy was ever ready to kindle the

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<sup>43</sup> Travels of Benjamin of Tudela, from 1160 to 1173: this rather doubtful authority is borne out in this instance by other writers.

torch of a religious war. There was thus no means of support left to the Jew but commerce : from the learned professions he was utterly excluded ; he could neither follow a military career, nor shine in the senate, nor at the bar, nor become a distinguished investigator of science. The more extended branches of commerce were also shut out from his participation ; his Eastern brethren had been plundered of their wealth ; hordes of rapacious Norman pirates pounced upon his ships, if he had the temerity to send them from port ; the slave trade had dwindled to an insignificant barter, and even that was exclusively confined to Christians. Thus there was for him nothing but traffic, and the unenviable character which the nation acquired as a race of pedlars and barterers, was the inevitable consequence of the persecutions of those who made them what they were, and then reviled them for their degradation.

To the intestine dissensions of the Jews, they added a culpable imprudence. In Granada, their proudest stronghold, where Judaism towered high above either Christianity or Mahometanism, they were seized with a proselytising mania, and attempted to make converts among the Moslem. The stern orthodoxy of Islamism took fire, the rash zealots were hanged, the race oppressed, and one thousand five hundred of the first Jewish families in the world were reduced to disgrace and destitution. The Crusades afforded a splendid opportunity to the enemies of the Israelites ; and when Peter the Hermit with his countless horde of fanatics, arrived at Trêves, and one of those fearful murmurs whose origin is ever unknown suddenly spread through the camp, that while they were advancing to recover the sepulchre of their Redeemer from the Infidels they were leaving far greater Infidels behind, then it was that a knell sounded for the destruction of the Jews. With

one impulse the Crusaders rushed to the city ; pillage, violation, and massacre ruled supreme ; countless atrocities were the laurels of the first warriors of the cross. The flame spread to Cologne, Strasburg, Metz, Mayence, Worms, and Spire—to save themselves from falling by a hated hand, the Jews committed suicide or slew each other.

And then for half a century, there was a pause—but when the dreadful cry of “ *Hep* ” (Hierosolyma Est Perdita) again arose, the unhappy people too well knew, that they were included among the enemies of the cross ; but this knowledge could not aid them to escape their fate. For where could they take refuge ? On every side were the stern figures of their implacable foes, prepared to meet death among the Moslems in a war of fanaticism, which to them was sanctified by the slaughter of an impious race ; and there was but the choice of proselytism or death. The former was indignantly rejected. Rodolph, the Monk, passed through Germany, preaching hatred and massacre, and the flourishing cities on the banks of the Rhine profited but too well by his teaching.

France took up the cry ; false accusations were made against the Jews, who in that country had acquired a hold upon almost the whole of the landed property. To slay their creditors was the most convenient method of cancelling their debts and redeeming their mortgages ; and it possessed the additional advantage of being eminently adapted to the taste of the turbulent knights. The Jews were banished the kingdom under Philip Augustus ; but some twenty years later, he was obliged to recall them, as the fiscal condition of the country materially suffered from their absence. In the reign of St. Louis, fresh persecutions followed ; many lost their lives in Paris, Orleans, and other towns, and a decree of John the Red of Burgundy, licensed

a general pillage and massacre. King Louis, having persecuted the members of the faith, turned his attention to their tenets ; an edict was issued for the destruction of the Talmud, and twenty-four cart-loads of the ponderous tomes were publicly burned in the streets of Paris. Such a measure was of course silly and futile ; but it had the effect of driving many of the Hebrew sages from France, and the property of such as fled was confiscated to the Royal Treasury. It was in the reign of this Louis (commonly called “ the Saint”) that the Jews were first ordered to wear the distinctive garment which received the name of the Rouelle.

In Germany, Frederic the Second strove to stem the tide of hatred against the persecuted nation, but in vain. The ecclesiastical councils were too strong even for him, and edict was promulgated after edict, breathing a spirit of vengeance and oppression, but the bitterer for contradiction.

In Spain, where the flame had first been kindled, the darkness gathered more slowly ; for the sovereigns of Castile and Arragon were at first too weak and too politic to persecute so powerful a class of their subjects. The Jews still had the control of the finances of the kingdom ; and as they were not forced to stoop to paltry means of obtaining their livelihood, so they did not disgrace the rank and honours they possessed. But even there, powerful as they were, they could not withstand the popular zeal at the time of the Crusades ; and, but for the interference of King Alfonso, blood would have been shed.

The course of this sad history bids us return to France, to mark under Philip IV., a repetition of the proceeding that had signalised the reign of Philip Augustus, in which the monarch first expelled the Jews, and then, by the

subsequent poverty of the nation, was forced to recall them. But worse evils were in store for them, and the celebrated 'Rising of the Peasants' afforded an opportunity for the lower orders to vent their long pent-up hatred. Everywhere the proscribed people were pillaged, tortured, and massacred : where they could, they fled for protection to the fortresses—the rest perished by the sword. The next year, France was visited by a pestilential epidemic ; the Jews were said to have poisoned the public fountains. A barbarous pleasantry that the water could only be purified by boiling, was received with frantic applause. In many provinces, and chiefly in Aquitaine, the Jews were burned without distinction. At Chinon a deep ditch was dug, a huge pile erected, and one hundred and sixty of both sexes were burned together. The martyrs plunged into the flames of their own accord, singing hymns of thanksgiving ; and among the voluntary victims, were many women with their children, who preferred the death of a saint to the life of a convert. Of course property was confiscated to a great extent : this part of the proceedings was never omitted ; and the king's share alone amounted to one hundred and fifty thousand livres.

Charles the Fourth, the successor of Philip, compounded with them for a permission to return to the country ; and for the third time, the scene of their expulsion and recall was enacted. A second pestilence followed ; a second charge of poisoning the fountains ensued, and fresh massacres and renewed fines. Such is an epitome of Jewish history for many years in one of the first kingdoms of Europe ; until in the reign of Charles the Sixth, they were banished the country for an indefinite period.

During the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, Germany treated them in a similar manner. As there had been a march

of the peasants in France, so there was a procession of the Flagellants in Germany; there was equal intolerance and persecution in both. The victims fled from state to state; they wandered through Silesia, Brandenburg, Lithuania, Bohemia and Poland, oppressed by the nobles, accused by the clergy, hated by the traders and reviled by the people.

England was not advanced beyond the other nations of Europe in religious toleration, and the monarchs of this country rivalled other potentates in impolitic and cruel persecution; in the time of the Saxons, Egbert, Archbishop of York (c. E. 750) had issued an edict, forbidding the presence of Christians at Jewish feasts; they are also stigmatised in a charter to the monks of Croyland. William the Conqueror sold to a Jew the right of settlement in the country. Rufus, anxious to raise money, and unscrupulous as to the means, taxed both Jews and Christians alike, farmed the bishoprics to the highest bidder of either faith, and at a religious debate profanely swore that if the Rabbis defeated the bishops, he would turn Jew himself. Stephen and Henry the II. extorted money from them in payment of the shelter they received.<sup>44</sup> In the reign of Richard the First, the citizens of London massacred them, and they were heavily taxed in support of the crusades. At Norwich, Stamford, Lincoln and York, they were either murdered, or devoted themselves to self-destruction, to prevent their persons and their property falling into the hands of the ruthless populace. John treated them kindly at first; but afterwards, when his necessities became pressing, extorted their wealth, under a severe penalty in case of a refusal. The same system was

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<sup>44</sup> *Anglica Judaica.*

carried on in the ensuing reign, and at length, in the reign of Edward the First, they were banished the kingdom, after having been despoiled of the wealth they had been permitted to accumulate.

In the course of one or two centuries, the Christian power was so well established in Spain, and the remembrance of the triumph of Islamism so faint, that they were strong enough to give vent to the feelings of hatred against the Jews which prudence had hitherto bidden them restrain. The first massacre that took place was a political one, under the orders of Bertrand du Guesclin, who wished to oust Don Pedro from the throne, and urged as a crime against him that he had commerce with the Jews. To prove his own antipathy to them, as well as that of his master, Henry of Trastamare, a relentless massacre was commenced; and wherever his white cross was raised, it served as a signal for the most horrible crimes. The Cortes fostered the spirit of these persecutions: that of Burgos raised the protection-money of the Jews; that of Valladolid prohibited their practising medicine, or holding any high offices about the courts. The clergy took good care to incite the people to a fit degree of hatred. At the voice of Martin, Bishop of Niebla, the populace of Seville rose and put the Jewish quarter to the flames, having first gutted it of all that was valuable: the example was followed by Cordova, Toledo, Valencia, and Majorca. The only method of escape was by submitting to baptism, and the number of enforced convicts is stated at two hundred thousand; it need hardly be said that these became the bitterest enemies of their former faith, and two apostates in particular, Hieronymo de Santa Fé and Paul of Burgos, took a most active share in the conversion or oppression of their orthodox brethren. But the new Christians, as they were



called, still adhered to their ancient tenets, and still practised in secret their ancestral rites. The Christian clergy suspected them, but were unable to verify their suspicions; King Ferdinand was too politic to allow the mandate of persecution to go forth from the throne, Queen Isabella was too gentle-hearted to give her consent to the enforcement of cruel measures. A new engine of power was required, that while it acted in the name and under the sanction of religion, might exercise dictatorial authority, and the power of life and death over the suspected individuals. This was found in the inquisition, that stern and irresistible ally of the church, that is never spoken of, save in terms of execration and reproach—that is never thought of, save with a shudder of terror. Already it had become infamous by the extermination of the Albigenses and the destruction of the province of Languedoc, and now, fortified by a bull of Sextus the Sixth, its wrath was directed against the newly converted Jews. The tribunal for this purpose was formed at Seville, in 1480; it confiscated all the property of the heretics, and even threatened with excommunication all who should give them shelter; neither rank nor power arrested its denunciations, and the Duke of Medina Sidonia, the Count d'Arcos, and the Marquis of Cadiz alike fell under its displeasure. The prisons were crowded with victims; the scaffold, the auto-da-fé, pestilence and torture were insufficient to clear them, and thousands were banished the country, and fled to France, to Portugal, and to Africa.<sup>45</sup> The Pope himself recoiled with dread before the monster he had brought into being: but even his strength was impotent to destroy it, and the inquisition was rendered permanent under the too-famous Thomas de

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<sup>45</sup> Mariana.



Torquemada. Its power extended to Arragon, where it was ill-brooked; and one of the chief inquisitors was assassinated, while at his devotions in the cathedral. For this a frightful retribution was exacted, and degradation and the flames destroyed many of the noblest families of Spain.

The unconverted Jews, who, in spite of torture, threats, and excommunication, had remained steadfast to their God and their faith, had been hitherto left unmolested. But their turn came, and in 1492 was issued the fatal edict, ordering all unbaptised Jews to quit the realm within four months. In vain the eloquence of Abarbanel, seconded by the golden offers of his brethren, pleaded for its revocation; the zeal of the inquisitors overcame the avarice of the king, and the banishment took place. The horrors of this expulsion have become historically famous; the expatriated people were forced into utter ruin; their property was sold at a nominal value; the plague raged in the transports that were to convey them away. Some reached Genoa, to die from starvation on the shore; others perished on the coast of Africa; many were thrown overboard to hinder the spread of the contagion. One party was left naked and desolate on the shores of Africa, with the alternative of being devoured by wild beasts, or swallowed up by the raging sea; another perished from hunger in the neighbourhood of Fez. Those who reached Portugal were heavily taxed for liberty to pass through the country, and then were borne off into captivity, or drafted away to colonize the unhealthy settlement of St. Thomas, or massacred by the fury of the populace. In spite of all, the Jewish faith lingered in the hearts of many of the proudest of the Spanish Hidalgos. Secret Jews were possessed of some of the highest offices of state wore the cowls of monks,

nay, even sat on the tribunal of the inquisition.<sup>46</sup> But, from the blow which she received by the cruel and impolitic expulsion of thousands of her best subjects, Spain has never recovered; and it is universally considered as one of the most effective causes of the decline under which she now suffers.

Thus tossed about on the waves of persecution in Europe, the Jews again took refuge beneath the shelter of the crescent. Fifty thousand crossed over to the Ottoman empire, where they soon obtained a far higher position than the trampled and despised Christians. To the Turk, the Greeks are "Yeshir," dogs and slaves; the Hebrews, "Monsaphir," or strangers.<sup>47</sup> They settled in all the large commercial ports, in Stamboul, and throughout the Levant, particularly in Salonica. Schools were re-opened, the Rabbis again acquired power, and the whole trade of the Levant fell into Jewish hands. This quickly reacted upon their brethren in Europe. In every town of Italy, they became the great commercial class, bankers, and money-lenders; and it passed into a proverb at Leghorn, in the time of the Medici, that "one might as well strike the grand duke as a Jew." The conduct of the popes varied as policy or good feeling dictated. In 1442, Eugenius the Fourth deprived them of almost all their privileges, but his successors acted with greater wisdom. In Naples, the famous Abarbanel was the confidential adviser of Ferdinand the Bastard and Alphonso the Second; but Charles the Fifth expelled them from the city. The pope Paul IV. renewed all the hostile edicts against them, and shut them up in the Ghetto. Pius the Fourth removed many of these restrictions; but Pius the Fifth re-imposed them, and

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<sup>46</sup> Orobio.

<sup>47</sup> Milman, vol. iii. p. 337.

expelled the Jews from every city in the States of the Church, except Rome and Ancona. At length, Sextus the Fifth, with one bull, annulled every previous edict, removed every restriction, and placed his Jewish and Christian subjects upon a footing of perfect equality.

The Reformation and discovery of printing, which took place about this time, exerted a favourable reaction upon them, each in its own special manner; for the former took away the attention of their persecutors to matters of more vital interest, and left them unmolested and at peace; while the latter served to spread their noble literature to every part of the world, and attracted for them the respect and admiration of all men of taste and learning. During the thirty years' war, they bravely assisted in the defence of Prague, and obtained the favour and protection of the grateful emperor. The greatest benefit conferred upon them by the Reformation, was the toleration which was its legitimate offspring. It thus stimulated their commercial enterprise, and opened to them, among other cities, the free towns of Holland, in which the Jews have ever since maintained a high character for integrity and zeal.

From the cities of the Netherlands, they long looked for a favourable opportunity, which might open the exchanges, the marts, and the havens, of England, to their adventurous traffic; but the edict of Edward the First was still in force, and they dared not openly oppose it. But, with the rise of the Protector, their hopes were elevated in equal proportion. The most absurd rumours were bruited about as to the nature of the proposals made by them to Cromwell. Thus it was said, that they had offered half a million of money to obtain St. Paul's church for a Synagogue, and the Bodleian library for a hall of commerce. Their claims were eloquently supported by an able Jewish

physician, Manasseh Ben Israel; and a legal and clerical body was appointed by the Protector to examine into the legality and propriety of their admittance into England; but their debates were so interminable, that he grew weary of the matter, and it was abandoned. The necessities of Charles the Second, however, were an unanswerable argument in their favour, and the Jews crossed over to England, where, under the mild and equitable laws of the British constitution, they have ever since continued to reside.

The period of the fiercest persecution had now passed away. It is true, that occasional outbursts of fanatic zeal, inspired either by love of plunder or sectarian feelings, are to be met with in the records of modern Jewish history; but this is the common lot of a weak people in periods of inferior civilization, and it is but a few months since the Christians in Aleppo were the victims of a similar outburst of popular fury. Christian forbearance, religious indifference, policy, the spread of civilization, the increase of knowledge, have all contributed their share to the extension of this toleration; nor have the milder influences of society and kindly feeling been wanting. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, Poland and the adjacent provinces were the head quarters of the Jews. They had long been attracted to that land; and under Casimir the Great, who was deeply enamoured of a Jewish mistress, they had enjoyed equal privileges with every class of citizens; they formed the middle class, between the nobles and serfs; they managed the entire traffic of the country; and Poland was the seat of their rabbinical government. In the west of Europe, the spread of a so-called philosophy—the philosophy of Gibbon and Voltaire—acted prejudicially to the Jews, for the extraordinary reason, that they were the progenitors of the Christians, whose tenets these philoso-

phers reviled ; so that in early ages, Judaism was persecuted for its opposition, and in more modern times, for its resemblance, to Christianity. In 1750, Frederick the Great issued severe edicts against them, and excluded them from every civic function. In England, meantime, after the reign of Charles II., they had lived in peace, divided, as at the present day, into the two communities of Portuguese and German origin. James II. annulled an edict which restricted their traffic ; William of Orange reimposed it. Queen Anne was favourable to their conversion, and in 1753, a bill for their naturalization, that had passed both houses, and received the royal assent, was withdrawn, owing to the violence of the popular indignation. In Italy, till the French revolution, they lived in quiet, and enjoyed a restricted freedom, confined to their Ghetto and allotted quarters. In Germany, the progress of the Jewish mind received a sudden impetus from the talent of Mendelssohn, whose genius and application burst every trammel that confined him, and raised him to a proud and acknowledged rank in literature. His talents caused a favourable feeling to spring up towards his brethren, which manifested itself in the kindly treatment they received at the hands of Joseph II.

The terrible epoch of the first French revolution found a limited number of Jews in France, particularly in the cities of Bordeaux and Bayonne, where a few Portuguese families had been permitted to settle. Some resided in Avignon also, and the conquest of Alsace and the city of Metz brought many more under the dominion of the French government. In the time of Louis XVI. a commission had been appointed, with Malesherbes at its head, to remodel all the laws relating to the Jews, as they had presented a petition enclosing a series of complaints against several

restrictions under which they laboured. But the political tempest put a sudden termination to the sittings of this body; and the revolutionary tribunals were more rapid than the tardy justice of the legitimate monarch. In 1790, the Jews having waited for some time until the aspect of the political horizon appeared sufficiently clear for their purpose, sent in a petition claiming full and equal rights as citizens. Mirabeau and Rabaut St. Etienne declared themselves their advocates, and the measure was passed, though not without considerable discussion; the Jews were thereby recognised as free citizens of the republic.

Buonaparte, that master-mind, whose genius rendered all sects and all classes subservient to the teachings of his ambition, paid much attention to the condition of his Jewish subjects. We must attribute this regard neither to vanity nor philanthropy, but to sound practical and statesmanlike policy. For no man could be more alive than he to the advantages that were to be derived from the extension of imperial protection to this people; he might thereby hope to turn to his immediate benefit their wide extended and rapid correspondence, which notoriously outstripped the intelligence and speed of his own couriers, and the secret ramifications of their trade, which exercised so vast an influence over the commercial system of the continent. In 1806, he summoned a grand Sanhedrim of the Jews to assemble in Paris, and propounded to them twelve questions relative to their religious and domestic polity. The deputies, after mature deliberation, returned elucidatory replies. In 1807, the Sanhedrim was formally assembled, according to an organized plan; Jewish consistories were formed, rules for their guidance were laid down, and plans were proposed for their attention. The entire system of organization was legalized by a state edict,

and a return was ordered to be made of their numbers and occupations. By this interesting statistical account, which appeared in 1808, it is shewn, that France at that time contained 80,000 Jewish subjects, of whom 1,232 were landed proprietors (exclusive of the possessors of household property); 797 were in the army; 2,360 artisans, and 250 manufacturers. The laws with regard to the equality of their rights have undergone little or no change during the recent political struggles in France; in 1830, the Chamber of Deputies voted that the Jewish ministers of worship should be paid from the public chest like those of the Christian faith. With the cession of the German and Italian provinces of the empire, of course their numbers were proportionably diminished.

In Italy, excepting in the Tuscan dominions, the Jews have again become subject to the ancient regulations. In Germany, though they are admitted to most of the civil and literary honours, there is still a popular feeling of dislike to them, particularly in the large trading towns referable not so much to religious animosity, as to the spirit of commercial rivalry. The great political changes which have taken place during the last forty years have materially improved their condition, both in a civil and an intellectual point of view. Some of the greatest of modern Jewish scholars have sprung from that country, and the tone of thought there is eminently suited to the development of their mental faculties. Before the fall of Napoleon, the monarchs of the various kingdoms, in imitation of his policy, had issued ordinances admitting the Jews to civil rights, exempting them from any peculiar imposts, and opening to them all trades and professions. These ordinances took place respectively in Baden, in 1809; in Prussia in 1812; in Mecklenburgh Schwerin in the same



year: in Bavaria in 1813. The act for the federative constitution of Germany, passed at the congress of Vienna in 1815, pledges the diet to turn its attention to the amelioration of the civil condition of the Jews throughout the empire. Previously to this, the King of Prussia had given security that he would redeem his pledge; he had paid great attention to the encouragement of Jewish education, and in his rapidly improving dominions, this people was by no means the last in civil and intellectual progress; nor were they ungrateful for his kindness, for they are devotedly attached to the country that has fostered them, and their blood has often been shed in defence of its rights. It is well known that many Jews fell in the Prussian ranks at Waterloo.

In Russia, the policy of the government has ever been directed to one end, that of destroying the spirit of nationality among the Jews. This has been attempted in every possible manner; they have, of late years, been ordered to cease wearing their peculiar costume; they have been drafted off from the densely populated Polish provinces, and conveyed in isolated parties to less crowded parts of the empire, where, surrounded by strangers and severed from every national tie, it was thought that they might be induced to conform to the religion and customs of the country. They have been forbidden to engage to so great an extent in barter and traffic, and numbers have been compelled to turn their attention to agricultural pursuits. But this policy is not confined to the present generation; it was in force as early as the commencement of the century, and by an ukase of the Emperor Alexander, in 1805, the practice of small trades was prohibited to the Jews in Poland, and numbers of them were removed to agricultural settlements. The decrees of Nicholas are



aimed in a greater degree against the sacerdotal authority exercised by the Rabbis ; one edict of his excludes them from any town, and gives plenary power to the civil and military force to drive them out if they dare to venture within the walls. Another is even more stringent against the petty traffickers, who are utterly excluded from the Russian territory ; but these laws are in many instances evaded. Merchants, artizans, handicraftsmen, and above all, agriculturists, are, however, welcomed in the country.

The recent Hungarian war has evoked all the martial and patriotic spirit of the Jews, who rose everywhere in arms against the Austrians. To this step they were incited by many motives: the restless, unquiet spirit that has ever characterized them, and which neither the lapse of time nor the pressure of persecution has been able to still; the sufferings which they, in common with the Hungarians, among whom they reside, were made to undergo; the energy, eloquence, and generosity of Kossuth and the Hungarian leaders, the tyranny and cruelty of the Austrian General, all united in rousing them to join the ranks of the patriots. They shared in their varied fortunes, their triumph and their disgrace, and the conquerors awarded to them a degree of punishment, disproportionately severe.

It is a most difficult task to form a correct estimate of the number of Jews in the known world. Jost<sup>48</sup> and Löwisohn<sup>49</sup> give some grounds upon which calculations can be formed; and a statement was published some twenty years ago, which has been much relied on by many, but all whose special attention has been directed to the subject, concur in thinking the numbers given too small. Milman

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<sup>48</sup> Geschichte der Israëlitcn seit der Zeit der Makkabäer.

<sup>49</sup> Vorlesungen über die neuere Geschichte der Juden.

has also paid much attention to the subject; and to these various authorities I am indebted for the following statistics. The grand total of the various estimates differs from three to six millions. At the present time there are from five to six millions in all probability; but even in Europe, a close approximation to the truth is most difficult; how much more so must it then be in Africa and Asia, where we have no statistical data to go upon, and where the habits of the people are essentially nomadic.

In Africa, but little is known of their numbers; they are found along the whole coast from Morocco to Egypt, they travel with the caravans into the far interior, and, as has been already stated, they exist in great numbers in Ethiopia and Abyssinia.

In Egypt, 150 families alone inhabit that once magnificent city Alexandria, which occupies so sanguinary a pre-eminence in Jewish history, where the blood of the devoted race has flowed like water, and where their wealth ever excited the rapacity of their Macedonian tyrants. In Cairo there are 2,500, including several Karaïte families. The Weimar statement gives the following numbers as those of the Jews of Africa:—In Fez and Morocco, 300,000; Tunis, 130,000; Algiers, 30,000; Habesh, 20,000; Tripoli, 12,000; Egypt, 12,000.—Total, 504,000.

It is impossible to assign a limit to the number of Jews in Asia; the total given by the Weimar authority is three quarters of a million; but we can form no correct idea of the extent to which they are to be met with in China and the far interior, where undoubted traces of them are known to exist. In Malabar, there are about 1,000; Bokhara, 2,000 families, and Balkh, 150. In Persia they number close upon 4,000 families, their chief communities are at Ispahan, Shiraz, Kashaan and Yezd; they groan under the most

oppressive tyranny, and are subject to the heaviest exactions.

In Palestine, of late years, they have much increased; it is said that 10,000 inhabit Safet and Jerusalem, and among them are many Karaïtes. In Arabia, the Beni-Khaibr still maintain their Jewish descent and faith: in Yemen, there are nearly 20,000. Damascus counts seven synagogues and four colleges; Mesopotamia and Assyria, the ancient seats of the Babylonian Jews, are still occupied by 5,300 families, exclusive of those in Bassora and Bagdad.

In the Turkish dominions, irrespective of Barbary, their number is estimated at 800,000: in Asia Minor, they are numerous and fanatical. There are 40,000 in Constantinople: they are at perpetual variance with the Greeks, and sanguinary tumults are of no infrequent occurrence. Adrianople numbers 800 families with thirteen synagogues. Salonica 30,000, with thirty synagogues. This has ever been one of the great strongholds of Judaism. In the mountains of the Krimea there are 1,200 Karaïtes. In the Russo-Asiatic dominions of Georgia and Circassia they are numerous, but an exact estimate is wanting: in Georgia some of them are serfs attached to the soil; and some among the wild tribes of the Caucasus are bold and marauding horsemen, like their Tartar compatriots.

But the great seat of modern Judaism is the ancient kingdom of Poland, including Moravia, Moldavia, and Wallachia.<sup>50</sup> In Austria there are 68,000; in the Prussian territory 50,000; which is about the number in the rest of Germany. There are many Jews in Denmark and Sweden: they enjoy freedom of commerce and the protection of

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<sup>50</sup> Their numbers, in this region, have been stated at three millions, but this must be an exaggeration.

government. In Copenhagen, in the census of 1819, their number was 1,492; in the Netherlands there are 80,000; in France from 60,000 to 65,000. In Spain there are few or none; Gibraltar has 3,000 or 4,000. In Italy their numbers are considerable; Milman estimates them at nearly 100,000,<sup>51</sup> but this is exaggerated; in the Austrian possessions in Italy they are also numerous; and they abound in Mantua, Tuscany, and the States of the Church. In Great Britain there are from 30,000 to 40,000; they are entitled to every privilege of British subjects, except certain corporate offices and seats in Parliament, from which they are excluded by the act which requires an oath to be taken "on the faith of a Christian." A struggle is at the present time going on, with regard to this last remnant of exclusion; and there can be no doubt, however acrimoniously it be supported, that its days are numbered, and that, ere very long, the Jews will have the full and unrestricted rights that are enjoyed by every other class of British subjects.

In America, which was the first to accord to them such privileges, there were about 6,000, twenty years ago; this number, it is known, is amazingly increased at the present day, but correct statistics are wanting.

Such is the present condition of the Jewish nation; and, though it offers, indeed, but a sad contrast to that which was presented by them in their days of glory and imperial power, when enthroned monarchs reigned over the beautiful land of Judea, and the ritual of their service was chanted in the magnificent temple of Jerusalem; still, on the other hand, it offers an equally bright contrast to the dark scenes of the middle ages, when all the people of the earth

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<sup>51</sup> History of the Jews, vol. iii. last chapter.

were leagued against the devoted race ; when tyranny and persecution strove to blot out their very name from the annals of the world. It is the middle point between the extremes of glory and oppression, of empire and slavery, of luxury and destitution. And not the least cheering feature of the present condition of the Jews. is, the fact that they have proved themselves well worthy of the toleration that has been extended to them. That they have not seceded from their faith can surely not be imputed as a crime to them, since it cannot fail to strike the observant mind by what mysterious agencies the Eternal has ever been pleased to preserve and watch over that faith. The fiercest passions equally with the gentlest emotions have been found to foster rather than to destroy it. It never sank more deeply into the hearts of its believers than when they were perishing in its behalf ; it never was followed with a stricter adherence than when it ruled supreme in the provinces of Judea. Luxury and oppression have been alike powerless in its eradication, and it burns with as pure a flame in the minds of its adherents, at the present moment, as it did thousands of years ago, when it was the sole religion upon the face of the earth, that acknowledged the existence of One Divinity.

Ages of persecution have at length taught the Jews a lesson that their fathers could not learn, how to make a right use of prosperity. He who has carefully read even this brief and imperfect sketch of their history, cannot fail to observe how uniformly toleration in the earlier ages was followed by intestine war and schism. It is one of the brightest features of modern Judaism, that in lieu of devoting all their attention to the consideration of doctrinal points, the energies of the great minds of the nation have been directed to comprehensive schemes for the education,

and the moral and intellectual elevation of their brethren. It has been at length recognised, that the accumulation of wealth alone cannot suffice to regain for them that rank which they have forfeited; and that they have too long neglected the education of those classes, upon whose conduct their national character must rest for praise or condemnation, and in whose welfare their happiness, nay, their very existence as a people, is inseparably bound up. The Jewish schools in England, in the provinces as well as the Metropolis, may set an example to those of other sects in many points; in the supervision which is maintained over the conduct of the children; in the attention to individual character; in the intimate knowledge possessed by the teachers and patrons of the circumstances and dispositions of the children; and in the efficient, practical, and at the same time national character of the system of education pursued. The reports of the Government Commissioners fully bear out these eulogia.

Freed from the shackles which weighed so heavily on its genius, the Jewish nation has at length, after the lapse of ages, begun to prove that it is inferior neither in attainments nor in progress, to the people whose rights as citizens it shares. On every side we behold its movement; a Jewish press has been established in every liberal country; newspapers and magazines, displaying considerable ability and research, disseminate intelligence of a very superior order; works in every branch of science are sent forth by Jewish authors in this country, and on the continent, especially in Germany; Jewish students carry off university and academical honours; and the learned professions of medicine and law enrol many of them among their distinguished members. They occupy an important position in the higher branches of commerce, in banking and mercan-

tile transactions; and the gradual spread of education among the poorer classes, must inevitably root out that system of peddling and trafficking which has so long disgraced them.

That this career of prosperity may be long and continuous, must be the heartfelt wish of every friend of toleration and progress, be his religion what it may. It cannot be too frequently impressed upon the minds of those whose dearest interests are at stake in this success, that to reap its full benefits, the co-operation of all classes of the Jewish nation is absolutely indispensable; of the *uneducated*, that they may expose the evils to which they are subjected, and under the weight of which their best endeavours after self-improvement fail; of the *educated*, that by the power of their better-trained minds, they may be enabled to propose an effectual remedy for these evils; of the *poor*, that they may show the temptations to which they are hourly exposed; and of the *wealthy*, that they may teach how, before the power of firm principle and conscientiousness, these temptations will lose much of their demoralizing effects.

Thus, in lieu of being "a scoff and a bye-word among nations," shall the Jews best command that respect to which their misfortunes and their fidelity so well entitle them, and best prepare themselves for that spiritual regeneration which, with such sublime constancy, they have for four thousand years, so confidently and trustfully expected.

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POST-BIBLICAL HISTORY OF  
THE JEWS.

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THE SECOND ESSAY.  
BY  
HERTZ BEN PINCHAS.



## POST-BIBLICAL HISTORY OF THE JEWS.

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### THE SECOND ESSAY.

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THE blank leaf generally placed between the Old and the New Testament, represents the boundary line which divides the Biblical from the Post-Biblical History of the Jews. The great wall of China divides not more distinctly the "celestial" from the barbaric world, than does this slender sheet the sacred from the profane history of our race.

I speak not with disrespect of the Christian's book; what is holy to him is not always sacred to me, yet the word *profane* stands not here in an offensive sense.

The ancient, or biblical history of the Jews, consists of the clearest, sublimest, and the most authentic records in existence. The modern, or post-biblical history of the Jews, is surrounded with obscurity and confusion. Doubt and uncertainty frequently assail us; and, like the weary traveller in a desert, we often sink beneath the wearisome monotony of clouds and dust, and sigh in vain for a ray of hopeful light.

Alas! the modern history of the Jews is but like a kaleidoscope, composed of bits of broken glass, the black and the red are the most predominant, with here and

there an unspotted white fraction glittering nigh a verdant bead ; but the least movement of the hand changes the scene, and the eternal circle, under millions of variations, is still composed of broken beads,—red and black, and black and grey, and red again turn which ever way you will.

The endless variety of materials, which as yet exist but in embryo, and from which the future historian must arrange and compose his post-biblical history of the Jews, are like the Jews themselves, scattered throughout the world ; so vast, so tremendous, and so innumerable are the events which must pass before the historian's "mind's eye" ere he can venture to arrange so gigantic a task, that the heart faints at the reflection, that the whole lifetime of a man, though he devote it from childhood to the grave, would be insufficient for the mere perusal of those records with which he *ought* to be acquainted ere he can successfully play the historian.

To whatever part of the world we turn, whatever country or clime we visit, we find incidents in abundance, which imperatively claim the right of forming a link in the great chain of events ; the Egyptians and the Babylonians, the Romans and the Greeks, the Arabians and the Syrians, the Medes and the Persians, etc., etc. ; each and all pass in succession, like Banquo's kings, and cry aloud for room on the blood-steeped stage of eternal tragedy. The Cæsars and the Caliphs, the Popes and the Muftis, the Crusaders and the Inquisitions, the Auto-da-Fé's and the Ghetto's all crush and crowd themselves, like the frantic swine driven into the sea ; and as they come and go each and all leave behind them the admonitory, "Remember me!"

And were it possible to acquire a knowledge of every living and dead language, could he be invested with a privileged access to every library in Europe, and be

furthermore endowed with the power of acquiring and USING all the knowledge necessary for his purpose, he would still require the triple age of "three score and ten," to do justice to a work the title whereof would be "The Post-Biblical History of the Jews."

If what has been stated above can lay any claim to truth, it is perfectly clear that it is beyond the power of any single individual, though he were a Hercules in mind as well as in body, to accomplish so gigantic a task; and what important service *can* "forty-eight pages of an ordinary octavo pamphlet" be expected to render to *such* a history? Gentle reader, expect *little* and thou wilt not be disappointed MUCH.

What has been hitherto accomplished in this particular field of literature, is but like a few showers to the Atlantic Ocean; the learned Josephus,<sup>1</sup> the accomplished Jost, the noble-minded Milman, and scores of others mostly of minor importance, are but like so many rivers flowing into the sea, "and yet the sea is not full." A thousand cyclopædias, written by myriads of historians of all nations and climes, could alone contain that which I understand by "The Post-Biblical History of the Jews." Why, our post-biblical

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<sup>1</sup> It is necessary for me here to remark, that the following works were constantly before me during the time this Essay was written. The Apocrypha, Josephus, Jost's *Geschichte der Isräeliten*, and Mr. Theodorus's *History of the Hebrew Kings*. Whilst I acknowledge myself mainly indebted to the above works for a guidance in the historical events, I must also remark that I have scrupulously avoided appropriating to myself any of the beauties of their language. The very narrow limits of this Essay rendered it quite impracticable for me to acknowledge the numerous instances wherein I am indebted to the above authors; to several other writers, however, to whom I am not so largely indebted, I have thought proper to give references as to chapter, page, etc.

literature alone, its rise and progress, its difficulties and triumphs, its brilliancy and vastness, its PERSECUTIONS and toleration, its neglect and probable revival, together with the mere catalogue of its treasures, might fill a volume which would require the strength of a Samson to lift, and the age of a patriarch to study.

And, oh, the history of our *persecutions*! The heart sickens, the brain whirls round at the recollections of deeds which might make even *fiends* weep for sympathy, and “thank their stars” that made them into misanthropists. On the world’s wide map, there is scarcely a country, petty state, or city (claiming to be civilised), which has not its own history of Jewish persecution; as in that dread night, when the Israelites left their Egyptian bondage, the lintel and two side-posts of every Jewish dwelling were marked with blood, that the angel of the Lord might distinguish it from the Egyptian’s, even so every post-biblical narrative of events relating to the Jews is drenched in blood to distinguish it from those of all nations on earth.

We are told, somewhere, that *Ireland* is the only country in the world which cannot be charged with persecuting the Jews. Alas! poor Erin! Thou art thyself an eternal badge of sufferance: the blood of my people rests not on thy head. Is it then true, that reptiles breathe not in thy emerald isle?

And what historian is there who can do justice to that indomitable *perseverance* which characterizes the modern history of our race? Fancy you behold a beautiful plant flower luxuriantly beneath the skilful hand of an experienced gardener, see it blessed with the dew of the morning, the sunshine of the day, and the zephyr of the even; suddenly, you see it uprooted, torn, mangled, trodden under foot, and so disfigured that you can hardly distinguish root from branch,

or flower from bud—you sigh for pity and give it up for lost. Strange, you scarcely turn your back, and you behold this identical plant in another spot. The germ lives—the stem shoots upwards—the leaves expand—the shining buds glitter amidst the foliage—the calyx becomes enlarged, the brilliant petals open their chintzy gates, and with God's dew upon their face, they display their gorgeous nuptial beds to our wondering gaze. Whilst yet you admire its revived brilliancy, a sudden whirlwind shivers its branches to atoms, its tender leaves are scattered and blown to all the quarters of the globe, its uncapsuled seeds thrown abroad on the wings of the wind and the birds of the air—what hope can there yet remain for this poor trodden-down offspring of earth? But, O God, thy ways are inscrutable. On other spots, and different climes, far, far from its native home, the humbled plant re-appears, its trodden down seeds even out of the bowels of the winged messengers, come forth again and seek a home in the pliant earth; again they spring into life, again they perish, and again they revive; fancy this ten thousand times in the space of eighteen centuries, and you have a faint, a very faint idea of the Post-Biblical History of the Jews. And, O what a vast scope there is for a poetical or prosaic pen to luxuriate in a description of that thrilling scene which must have taken place in Babylon, when, for the first time, it was announced to the captive Israelites, that it was the will of the great Cyrus that they should return to their own dear native Jerusalem! What a shout of delight must have burst from the lips of myriads of human beings! The river Chebar must have swelled its overflowing waves with the tears of gratitude which flowed from the eyes of the aged captives, as they were about to seek a grave in their own native homes. And the great Cyrus, the hero

whose name floated on the inspired theme of the immortal Isaiah, can it possibly be true that the anointed one of God, the redeemer of his chosen race, should have fallen ignominiously, the sport and rage of the infuriated Queen Tomyris?<sup>2</sup> O, Herodotus! surnamed the Homer of History,<sup>3</sup> rather would I doubt thy veracity than gainsay the mercy of the Almighty. And where can we find a scene, either in history or fiction, in prose or in poetry, half so affecting as must have been that of which we are told, “the ancient men that had seen the first house, who when the foundation of this house was laid before their eyes, wept with a loud voice.” What a wonderful change nature and captivity must have wrought upon these “ancient men” in seventy years!—except of their souls, how much of that which constituted their SELF did they bring back as octagenarians? And the poor old men “*they wept.*” O what a bitter, unnatural sight it is to see a MAN’S tears! But God, in thine infinite mercy, spare me the sight of an OLD man’s tears! Who could behold such a sight unmoved? “And the old men wept with a LOUD VOICE.”

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<sup>2</sup> “Cyrus himself fell; and thus terminated a reign of twenty-nine years. When, after diligent search, his body was found, Tomyris (Queen of the country of the Massagetæ) directed his head to be thrown into a vessel filled with human blood, and having insulted and mutilated the dead body, exclaimed ‘Survivor and conqueror as I am, thou hast ruined my peace by thy successful stratagem against my son; but I will give thee now, as I threatened, thy fill of blood.’”—Herodotus, vol. i., book i., Clio, p. 157. Beloe’s Version.

The translator in a note thereto, says, “Xenophon makes Cyrus die peaceably in his bed. Strabo inclines to this opinion. Lucian makes him live beyond the age of a hundred.”

<sup>3</sup> Lectures on the History of Literature, Ancient and Modern, from the German of Frederick Schlegel, p. 30. Edinburgh and London, 1841.



Poor broken down, frail creatures! Well might they weep. What a difference between the Jerusalem of their childhood and the Jerusalem of their manhood! Where is all the golden splendour of the Solomonic temple? . Where the glorious Ark? The Urim and Thummim? Where is that mysterious, quenchless, heavenly fire that used to adorn the altar of God? Gone, gone—but not for ever.

And now, could we tear the veil of oblivion asunder and read the changes that seventy years of captivity must have wrought upon the *inward* man, what a revolution might we not perceive in their feelings, in their religious and moral reflections, and in their appreciation of Divine justice and mercy! From its infancy the Jewish nation has been threatened with expatriation as one of the greatest penalties of disobedience to the Divine will; but like a favourite child which cannot look upon the anger of a fond parent as *real*, they never would believe or conceive that any such a dread calamity as that which subsequently befell them, could ever really overtake them; in vain the prophets admonished, the idols had for them superior charms; in vain they threatened, they were lulled in security—what mattered the ravings of a Jeremiah to them? “He was mad.” Why trouble themselves with gloomy forebodings? “He was a traitor.” But lo, the long threatened calamity at last did come, and like the earthquake which engulfed Pompeii in the bowels of the earth, it came quickly, surely, and tremendously! Scarcely did the captive children of Israel find themselves securely seated in their captive homes, than the burning reflection flashed across their pensive minds, that all their misfortunes befell them because they were idolaters, because they despised and neglected the laws of God given through Moses. What would not a patriot do to be restored to his native land,

once more to behold it, and participate in its prosperity ? (And every Jew, be he never so wicked, always is a patriot). A sudden, all-powerful, and irresistible passion took possession of every heart, the law of God became their study night and day. Idolatry was FOR EVER discarded from the ranks of Israel, learning became the chief ladder to honour among themselves, and the influence of an Ezra which might have been insignificant as that of the royal favourite, became irresistible as that of the “ wise student of the law.” He alone was most worthy of esteem, rank, and honour, who studied the law and could expound its open and secret meaning in the most scholar-like manner ; hence patriotism and the glowing desire of once more beholding their fatherland, through a meritorious study and observance of the Mosaic law, became the grand corner-stone, the very foundation of that vast, immeasurable, and unfathomable bulk of Rabbinical literature which began with the first captivity, and is not yet ended in the last. And the poor captives ? God in his infinite mercy heard them at the appointed hour, and brought them again to the land of their fathers. With hearts full of zeal and devotion they cheerfully laboured and toiled, until, in the sixth year of Darius, the second temple reared its head amidst the joyful acclamations of the people.

Perhaps one of the most remarkable events which attract our notice in the early portion of the Post-Biblical History of the Jews, is the visit of Alexander the Great to Jerusalem. To the imperious demand of “ the conqueror of the world,” for the surrender of Jerusalem, the venerable priest Jaddua replied, “ that he had sworn fealty to Darius, and was bound to maintain his allegiance to that monarch.” That a high-miuded man like Alexander should rather be pleased than offended at such a manly

reply, is not at all improbable; we have similar instances in more modern times. Herod's reply to Augustus ("If then attachment to Antony be a crime, I plead guilty; but if having thus seen how steady and faithful I am in friendship, you determine to bind me to your fortunes by gratitude, depend upon the same firmness and fidelity") probably served him much more in the estimation of the Roman, than the most cringing humiliation and submission could have done. The authenticity of the romantic portion of this event, viz., the falling of Alexander prostrate at the feet of Jaddua, in whom he recognised the very identical high-priest who appeared to him in a vision at Dios, his adoring the Holy Name in the presence of the Syrian kings who stood around him, etc., etc., has been much questioned by several writers. Milman himself more than doubts the "romantic and picturesque story," and to prove "the difficulties and anachronisms of this whole story," he cites ONE instance in a note, "The high-priest refuses his allegiance to Alexander, though aware that he is designated by God, in the prophecy of Daniel, as the destroyer of the Persian empire." The bare fact of his knowing that, at some future period, poor Darius was destined to fall before the irresistible conqueror, would by no means have justified him to prove traitor to his sovereign whilst he was king. Let Voltaire sneer, let Moyle play the critic, and let Mitford, the historian of the Greeks, differ from Josephus, the historian of the Jews, still I can see no reason why a Greek, who had as many gods as there are days in the year, should scruple to pay the same compliment to the God of the Jews, especially if it suited his courtesy or policy. One thing, however, is quite certain, that he left Jerusalem unmolested<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> The צמח דוד relates, that Alexander the Great wished to have a golden statue of himself raised as a memorial (of his visit); but

and at peace. Our enemies may well choose to throw a veil upon this incident, since one portion of it at least reflects the highest credit upon our race; when the hero was about to depart from Jerusalem, he offered to grant to the Jews whatsoever gift they should desire—and what did this favoured race ask for? The wealth or territory of prostrate nations? Not so; the simple gift of liberty, liberty of conscience for themselves, and for their brethren in Media and Babylonia. Could Voltaire *ever forgive* such magnanimity in a Jew?

But time, which levels the greatest hero with the minutest animalcula, summoned the conqueror of the world to six feet of cold clay, and he, who but yesterday made a giant tremble, himself lay prostrate, food for worms. Scarce was the inanimate clay of Alexander consigned to its last home, than his generals pounced upon his kingdoms, like so many vultures on a fallen carcase; each seized his share of prey, and tore and mangled it with all the insatiate gluttony which characterizes the “heroes” with which an offended Deity curses mankind. Judæa fell to the lot of Laomedon, but being defeated, Ptolemy, king of Egypt, prompted by the desire of possessing all Syria, and thirsting for revenge, because of the fidelity of the Jews to his rival, ravaged Judæa, took Jerusalem, and carried away 100,000 captives to Egypt. But *how* was this triumph achieved? Did he, like a great warrior, vanquish his enemy in the battle-field? Did he honourably meet them hand to hand, and with the greatness of his valour, did he lay prostrate an armed force?

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the high-priest told him, that it was against the Jewish law; but a greater memorial than the one he asked, he would have, for all the children born to the priests in that year would be called *Alexander*, after him.

This, and some few other notes, have been written since the publication of this essay was determined upon.

Not so; the base king took advantage of the religious scruples of our race, and whilst the unarmed and inoffensive Jews sat in solemn silence, observing the day of rest, he attacked the Holy City, and it fell an easy prey into the hands of the "conqueror." Surely the green laurels must have withered ere they reached his brow, and the blush of shame must have deepened at each shout of "Victory!" The most liberal historian of our race, in narrating this event, says, "The SUPERSTITIOUS Jews scrupled to violate the sabbath even in self-defence." Well, call it superstition, call it devotion, or religious enthusiasm; call it by whatever name you choose; but, O God, what oceans of human blood might not this world have been spared, had all mankind been BLESSED with such a "superstition!" Prompted by remorse or policy, this "conqueror" evinced much kindness towards his captives; knowing that he who is faithful to his God cannot prove a traitor to man, Ptolemy by kindness induced a great many of his Jewish captives to enroll themselves as soldiers beneath his banners, and the many important trusts he confided to their care, plainly prove how boundless must have been his confidence in the race he had so much wronged.

Among the many tyrants who are doomed to an unenviable immortality in the history of the Jews, there are few, if any, who are more deserving of our everlasting abhorrence than is that "*lusus naturæ*," that monster of iniquity, well known in history as Antiochus, "Epiphanes the Illustrious, or Epimanes the madman." The details of that man's horrid cruelties and persecutions almost force upon our minds a belief in the doctrine of the soul's transmigration, surely nothing but the soul of a vampyre could have instigated the deeds ascribed to Antiochus. A false report of his death having reached Jerusalem, the

gladness manifested on that occasion by the Jews, together with the revolt of Jason, roused the unbridled fury and revenge of Antiochus, and poor Jerusalem lay prostrate at his feet. It almost stops the pulsation of the heart when we read the awful fact that, in THREE DAYS, 40,000 human beings were put to death, and 40,000 more sold for slaves. If the murderer of a single human being forfeits his life both by the laws of God and man, O heaven, what must be the doom of that demon in human form? With the determination of annihilating the Jewish religion, he entered the holy temple, and defiled its sacred utensils; he sacrificed the forbidden and abhorred swine upon the altar of God, and sprinkled its blood, in defiance of high heaven, upon all around him; with his rage still unsatiated, he commissioned his general, Apollonius, to exterminate the Jews and their religion from the face of the earth. The crafty heathen, imitating the base and cowardly stratagem of Ptolemy, attacked Jerusalem on the sabbath day, and slew the unresisting inhabitants, till the streams of human blood inundated the streets; 10,000 captives, women and children, attested the triumph of the "conqueror."

It is an undeniable law of nature, that the vilest dung will often conduce to the growth and encouragement of the most generous fruit; and mankind is often indebted for the appearance of its noblest patriots to the heartless cruelties of its tyrants. Who knows whether the glorious name of "Maccabeus" would ever have been heard of in history, but for the existence of this very Antiochus? Among the many heroes and patriots which adorn the history of man in all ages, it would be difficult to point out any who are more worthy of the regard and esteem of the human race, than are the great and glorious champions of Judaism, whom we recognise under the pious name of the

“Maccabees.” Let England, with honest pride, glory in her Alfred, and Scotland in her Bruce ; Let Switzerland rejoice in her Tell, and America in her Washington ; we, too, have a great and glorious hero, whose everlasting name is written in the book of life, never, never to be eradicated. And where is the force of rhetoric, where the power of eloquence, which can in words express anything more manly, noble, and patriotic, than is comprehended in the emphatic “JUDAS MACCABEUS”?

Whilst all Judæa trembled in the agonies of wild despair, a venerable old man, with five sons worthy of their sire, valiantly arose in Modin, and cried aloud, “We will not hearken unto the king’s words to transgress our religion, neither on the right side nor on the left.” And the old man gazed boldly into the tyrant’s face ; the winds of heaven wafted his grey hair on his manly brow, a gleam of sunshine fell upon his uplifted arm, as with the strength of a giant, he struck the king’s commissioner to the earth, and, with a voice of thunder, exclaimed, “Whosoever is zealous for the law, and will stand by the covenant, let him come forth after me !” The success which had hitherto attended the heathenish practice of attacking the Jews on the sabbath-day, prompted the enemy to try it once more, and the result was, the fall of a thousand human beings beneath the merciless knives of the Syrians. The old man, the venerable Mattathias, viewed with grief and indignation this last misfortune, and trusting to the justice and mercy of the Almighty, he made it a rule ever after, when attacked, to defend the persons and the rights of his people even on the sabbath. But the days of man are numbered, and the noblest and bravest, at the appointed hour, must go “to the land from whose bourne no traveller ever returneth.” The venerable old man felt that that moment



had arrived for him, and he called his five sons before him, and with his dying breath appointed Judas their captain, saying, "Judas Maccabeus hath been mighty and strong, even from his youth upwards; let him be your captain, and fight the battles of the people." And the venerable patriarch "fought his last battle," and he was no more, for God took him to himself. And now the lion-hearted Judas put on "a giant's breast-plate," and met that blood-hound, Apollonius, face to face; with the blood of a slaughtered race upon his head, he fell beneath the iron hand of Judas; so perish all the enemies of our race! With an army of 40,000 foot, Ptolemy Macron, Nicanor, and Gorgias, advanced towards Judas, whose forces consisted of but 6000 men. Undaunted, and confiding in the justice of his cause, Judas even proclaimed in his camp the Mosaic law, commanding the departure of all those who were newly married, who had built houses or planted vineyards, not forgetting those who were afraid.

With the remainder of his little troop, this valiant son of Mattathias attacked and defeated the Syrians. Great and glorious God of heaven! why didst thou not grant us a Maccabee in that memorable day when the accursed Roman cast a fire-brand into thy temple, and in its flames extinguished for a time the hopes of thy people? And now the avenging hand of God falls heavy upon Callisthenes and Philarches, and the thread of their life is miserably cut in twain, for the blood of our people lies heavy upon their heads. But who is yonder recreant, who, with the speed of "an arrow from the bow," flies to Antioch? It is Nicanor, the man who came girt with a sword, to crush the lion-hearted Judas. He flies in the DISGUISE of a slave. Go, poor worm! thy body, not thy soul, needs the disguise of a slave!

Whilst the sun of success shone with a brilliant lustre upon the evergreen laurels of Judas, Antiochus Epiphanes lay in the agonies of death; baffled ignominiously in his attack upon the temple of Diana, raging in his disappointed hopes of Palestine, and smarting with excruciating bodily pain, the Syrian monarch tossed his head to and fro upon a restless pillow, and trembled whilst he prayed, lest an avenging deity should grant his petition and give him the death he craved. Now the hypochondriac Syrian, who offered a swine upon the altar of God, screams with horror at the fancied apparitions of his feverish mind, and would gladly purchase, with the price of his diadem, the life of the meanest slave in his dominion; but in vain, death's icy hand clasps him as a mother clasps her favourite child, and the grave received its own. Whilst we turn with horror and disgust from the Syrian monarch and the Syrian worm, death, who is no respecter of persons, calls our attention to Eleazar, the brother of Judas. Filled with the noblest sentiments of heroism and patriotism, and emulating the indomitable valour of his brother, Eleazar darted like a thunderbolt into the midst of the enemy's forces; for a moment the conflicting armies cease their strife, and gaze with wonder on the daring warrior, who, rushing beneath a huge elephant with his drawn sword, slew the beast, but alas! himself fell crushed to death, even as died Samson in the midst of the Philistines. (But every line and sentence I write reminds me of my limited space, and like the traveller in a train, scene after scene flits past me with the velocity of lightning, the train must roll onwards and reach its destination at the appointed hour.)

The glorious career of Judas roused the indignation of Demetrius, and he was determined to put a stop to his

future progress. For this purpose he chose his dearest *friend* Nicanor. Why was this Nicanor the *friend* of Demetrius? Josephus lets us into the secret, "he it was who fled away with him from the city of Rome."

We have already seen this same Nicanor fly to Antioch in the disguise of a slave, he now reappears on the stage of his former disgrace, in the disguise of a general; fully aware by experience of the indomitable valour of Judas, he thought it much safer for him to attempt to get that warrior into his power by stratagem than to risk the result of open warfare; he, therefore, assumed a tone of friendship towards Judas, assured him of the purity of his motives, and offered to take an oath that he would do him no harm. The brave Judas was too honourable himself for a moment to suspect any treachery, and he would undoubtedly have fallen a victim to the deceit and cowardice of this heartless heathen, but a kind Providence, which ever watches over the good and the brave, opened his unsuspecting eyes just in time to save him for a more honourable and glorious death.

Seeing himself disappointed in his vile stratagem, Nicanor now determined to try the fortunes of war; after meeting Judas at a village called Caphar Salama, and again at another village called Bethoron, the proud heathen was completely discomfited, and himself fell dead beneath the mighty hand of Judas. The sudden death of the high priest, Alcimus (according to Josephus), gave the people an opportunity of displaying their enthusiastic admiration of our hero. With one accord they conferred the high priesthood upon Judas, the noblest reward for the noblest hero. But whilst we gaze with unqualified admiration upon the glorious career of Judas, an involuntary sigh escapes our lips, when we read that this great

and glorious hero entered into a treaty of alliance with the Romans, and thus was in some respects the means of bringing us in contact with a people who eventually became the destroyers of our country and our race.

But if the career of Judas has been hitherto brilliant in the midst of an uninterrupted succession of prosperity, the closing scene of his life, under a cloud of adversity, approaches to absolute sublimity. The defeat of Nicanor preyed upon the mind of Demetrius; and to revenge himself upon Judas, and if possible to wipe out the disgrace of his defeat, he sent Bacchides into Judæa with an overwhelming force. Judas was encamped near a village named Bezetha, and before him stood the enemy with a force of 20,000 foot and 2000 horse: the great hero gazed upon his own little band, from a small force of 3000 soldiers no more than 800 remained, and with this handful of men he ventured to encounter the enemy. To Josephus we are indebted for the substance of his last address to his little band:—"Let not the sun ever see such a thing," exclaimed the lion-hearted Judas, "as that I should shew my back to the enemy; and although this be the time that will bring me to my end, and I must die in this battle, I will rather stand to it courageously, and bear whatsoever comes upon me, than, by running away, bring reproach upon my former actions, or tarnish their glory." The battle raged, and twenty-two thousand men fought against eight hundred, and yet God's sun shone placidly upon the scene, and when it set, it still left the valiant Judas unconquered and undismayed. With the eye of an experienced soldier, he perceived that the right wing of the enemy was the strongest; thither with a few of his boldest men, he sprang like a tiger, and by the aid of the God of our fathers he broke their ranks and forced them

to fly. The glorious star of Judas illumined the sky like a stream of light from the Aurora Borealis—a moment after it became extinct; the left wing saw the flight of their comrades, there was no time to be lost, the effort was made, Judas was encompassed; “and he fell,” says the Jewish historian, “and gave up the ghost and died, in a way worthy of his former famous actions.” After the death of Judas, the command of the Jewish army was conferred upon Jonathan. Bacchides flattered himself that he would find in Jonathan an easy prey. He first stooped to the meanness of treachery; and when that failed, he followed Jonathan to the lakes of Jordan, where he had pitched his camp; and here again we behold the infamous sight of a general, at the head of a considerable force, declining to meet a handful of men in the open honourable field, and preferring rather to fall upon an unarmed people on the day of their rest. But the son of Mattathias had learned a lesson from his sire; and contrary to the expectations of Bacchides, Jonathan advanced boldly towards him, and would have struck him to the ground, but Bacchides dexterously avoided the blow; Jonathan and his band sprang into the river and escaped beyond the Jordan. Bacchides returned to the citadel after having lost 2000 men.

Again we behold Bacchides in the battle-field, human blood flows like streams of water, and still the heathen has no better success; there was no alternative, and he embraced the earliest opportunity to make peace with a nation he in vain tried to destroy. The scene changes, and we now behold the singular sight of two rival kings vying with each other in conferring their favours upon the Jewish warrior; Demetrius would purchase his friendship, and so would Alexander. Demetrius who, but a short

time before, rejoiced in the hope of crushing Jonathan, offered to give up to him all the hostages, and to permit him to levy troops at pleasure: Alexander, who would conciliate him at any price, offered him the priesthood, exemption from taxes, etc. Arrayed in the pontifical robes, and crowned with success, Jonathan lived to see the fall of Demetrius, the enemy of his race; he defeated Apollonius, the general of young Demetrius, he also destroyed the temple of Dagon: and thus we behold in this favourite of fortune, a prince worthy of the name which must for ever adorn the annals of Jewish History.

After the overthrow of Alexander Balas, Jonathan presented himself at the court of Demetrius Nicator; and though the Hebrew warrior had favoured the cause of his rival, yet Demetrius received him with the greatest honour and distinction. This the noble-minded Hebrew held in remembrance, and an opportunity soon presented itself to Jonathan, whereby he rendered Demetrius a very important service. During a violent sedition at Antioch, when the refractory subjects of Demetrius besieged him in his palace, and in spite of his mercenary troops, actually overpowered him, 3,000 Jewish troops seasonably ascended to the top of the palace, and from thence dealt death and destruction to the besiegers, and finally put them to flight: the services thus rendered to Demetrius, in the moment of the greatest danger, elicited for a while the thanks and gratitude of that monarch: but ancient kings, like modern monarchs, were but made of common flesh and blood, and heathen kings, like Catholic majesty, were apt to forget when they ought to have remembered the most; accordingly, we find the same Demetrius afterwards, not only break his promises to Jonathan, but he even threatened him with war, unless he paid all the arrears of tribute due

from the Jews to the former kings of Syria. But whilst the proud heathen was yet breathing war and fury against Jonathan, the appearance of Trypho with Antiochus, the youthful son of his former rival, diverted the attention of Demetrius from the Jews and their chieftain. Shortly after, he found himself defeated and a fugitive, whilst his vacated throne was occupied by the boy Antiochus. So true are the words of the wisest of men, "Boast not thyself of to-morrow, for thou knowest not what a day may bring forth." Subsequently, we find Jonathan acquiring additional glory at the expense of Demetrius; he had also the gratification of confirming the treaty of alliance with the Romans, first brought about by Judas. We now approach the closing scene of Jonathan's career; and a sigh of deep-felt compassion escapes from the coldest heart, at the recital of the foul treachery to which this warrior fell a victim. Trypho, whose object in establishing young Antiochus upon the throne was self-aggrandizement, fully determined to embrace the earliest opportunity of placing the crown of the youthful monarch on his own brow; to accomplish this, he deemed it safer for him, first, to remove Jonathan, the friend and protector of Antiochus. The ways of heaven are inscrutable, the counsels of the wicked sometimes prevail, and the righteous fall into their snares; but who knows whether the prosperity of the wicked is not infinitely more bitter than the adversity of the righteous?—A Nero, or a Caligula, could let us into the secret IF THEY WOULD.

Simon succeeded his brother Jonathan, and he gladly and eagerly allied himself with Antiochus Soter, against Trypho, his brother's murderer; and the avenging hand of God fell upon the infamous Trypho. Harassed and defeated, he fled from before Antiochus from Dora to Apamia,



where he was taken captive and put to death. Scarcely had Antiochus freed himself from Trypho, than he thought proper to forget the friendship and assistance of Simon; and we even find his general, Cendebeus, soon after invading Judea; but he found the venerable son of Mattathias prepared to meet him face to face. Simon confided the command of his forces to his two sons Judas and John Hyrcanus. The cause of the just prevailed; and the virtuous Simon saw the defeat of the enemy, and himself triumphant. And now, as we gaze upon the grey hair of the venerable old man, and read in the placid features of his face the true father of his people, we ask ourselves, if it be possible that in this wide world there could exist a human being that would lay an unholy finger upon this "image of God"? O treachery! treachery! the blood-stained pages of history teem so fully with it, we are become so familiarised therewith, that even the unnatural death of a Simon, by the treacherous hand of his own son-in-law, attracts but a passing sigh,—and we proceed with the next.

John Hyrcanus succeeded his father Simon; invested with the high-priesthood by the unanimous will of the people, his first care was to propitiate the Almighty with becoming sacrifices; he then undertook the mournful duty of avenging his father's death. And here history presents us with a most heart-rending scene;—in a fortress near Jericho, Ptolemy, the assassin of Simon, found himself attacked by the heroic Hyrcanus; the craven-hearted murderer had not the soul to meet Hyrcanus in open combat, for who ever knew an assassin truly brave? And yet, how could he elude the avenging power of Hyrcanus? A fiendish smile played upon his lips as he bethought him how completely he had the virtuous Hyrcanus in his power. The moment he found himself attacked in his fortress, he



brought the mother and brethren of Hyrcanus upon the wall, and in the presence of the frantic chieftain, actually scourged his noble captives, and threatened to throw them down the wall, if Hyrcanus would not raise the siege. Is there a human being breathing who can bring to his recollection that inexhaustible fountain of love which is expressed by the term "Mother"—who cannot, either more or less, conceive the agony of despair, which must have torn the heart of Hyrcanus at such a sight? And the noble-minded woman stretched forth her hands, encouraging her son not to heed her sufferings; she entreated him to avenge his father's death; but human nature prevailed, and the murderer escaped. Our blood boils with indignation, when we read that the heroic mother of Hyrcanus, after all, fell beneath the assassin hand which slew the venerable Simon.

Subsequently we find Hyrcanus besieged and in great distress at Jerusalem. Once more we behold Judea tributary to the Syrian kings; but the son of the virtuous Simon lived to break the Syrian bonds asunder, and the land of our fathers resumed its independence. He also signalised himself by destroying the temple of Gerizim. Josephus tells us that "he administered the government in the best manner for thirty-one years, and then died, leaving behind him five sons." Thus history presents to our view that very rare spectacle of five rulers in succession, whose virtues, valour, and patriotism, reflect the highest credit upon the race they were called upon to rule, guide, and protect. A glow of honest pride fills our hearts, when we reflect that, so long as a son of Abraham lives on earth, the blood of the Maccabees cannot be entirely extinct.

But, alas! it is not the blood that runs in a man's veins that makes a hero. The infirmities of our fathers

we may inherit—to acquire their virtues we must first CULTIVATE them. Aristobulus, the son of Hyrcanus, inherited his father's government. His ambition prompted him to place a diadem upon his brow, and to change the government into a kingdom; the peerless diadem of his father—his virtues—he cast behind him, and, snatching at a shadow, fell into a bottomless sea. He would be a KING and rule a nation—he who could not rule himself! He would be a king, but his mother stood in his way; by his father's will she was appointed ruler of the State, and so long as she lived, the diadem tottered on his brow. O what will not ambition stoop to, to ascend? Blood itself appears as white as snow, and the blackest crimes assume the purity of crystal. If the mere term, *matricide*, be horribly terrific in our ears, what term in any language have we, capable of expressing that deep shuddering abhorrence which runs through our veins with the force of an electric shock at the recital of that inconceivable crime, of a son casting his own mother into a dungeon to starve to death? Oh let us no more talk of *humanity*! What greater possible crime could a fiend be guilty of, unless it be an impotent rebellion against the Deity? The justice of the Almighty, which is often reserved for another world, in this instance fell upon the matricide *here*, on this side of the grave. His brother Antigonus, whom he doatingly loved, he was treacherously induced to slay, and whilst the hell of a scared conscience cauterized his soul, the blood he vomited in his excruciating malady, was accidentally spilt upon the very spot from whence the voice of his brother's blood cried aloud to heaven for justice, and thus the blood of the two brothers mingled together to appear before the throne of an offended Deity.

Alexander Jannæus came from a dungeon to a throne;

adversity taught him neither virtue nor prudence. His wars and successes gained neither true glory nor lasting peace for his unfortunate people; and civil war, with all its attendant horrors, distracted the land. History affords us instances in abundance of galled and infuriated subjects rising and fighting against their tyrannical kings; Jewish history alone presents us with that remarkable spectacle of an exasperated people crying aloud, that they would yield on one condition only, viz., that of the tyrant putting himself to death. At length, after suffering a malady of three years' duration, and being about to die, he called his wife to him, and advised her by every means in her power to conciliate the Pharisees. The cruel persecutions which the Pharisees had suffered at his hands convinced him how bitterly he must be hated and abhorred by that powerful sect. "Tell them," said the dying monarch, "that thou wilt do nothing without them in the affairs of the kingdom; tell them that thou wilt deliver up my body to them to do with it as they list, and depend upon it I shall have the honour of a more glorious funeral from them than thou couldst have made for me; and when it is in their power to abuse my body, they will do it no injury at all, and thou wilt be in safety." Thus died this cruel man, testifying to the magnanimity of that stern sect whose blood he had poured out like water.

Influenced by the prudent counsel of her husband, and by the natural disposition of her sex, Alexandra adopted conciliatory measures towards the Pharisees; she delivered her husband's body into their hands, and entrusted the affairs of the kingdom to their guidance; and strange enough, with a magnanimity which does honour to the then uncorrupted sect, they not only offered no insult to the body of Alexander, but they actually honoured him with a funeral "more splendid than had any other of the kings before him."

Of the two sons left by Alexander, Hyrcanus the elder, who was of a quiet and mild disposition, was invested with the high priesthood. Aristobulus, the younger, who was of a wild and turbulent disposition, was sent with an army to Damascus against Ptolemy, in which expedition he succeeded and became the favourite of the army. No sooner did the ambitious Aristobulus perceive the declining health of his mother, than he formed the daring design of seizing the government for himself. The poor queen lived long enough to hear of her younger son's ambitious views, and then died, after a successful reign of nine years. With her dying breath, she declared Hyrcanus successor to her throne. On the death of Alexandra, the Pharisees, who espoused the cause of Hyrcanus, seized the wife and children of Aristobulus, as hostages, and kept them "in the fortress that was over the temple."

Scarcely was the Queen Alexandra laid in her grave, when war, war to the knife, ensued between the brothers; a battle at Jericho terminated in favour of Aristobulus, and the defeated Hyrcanus fled into the citadel. The fact, that in the moment of his defeat, at the very time when he was in the greatest distress, Hyrcanus, though he had the wife and children of his adversary in his power, stooped not to the meanness of exacting favourable terms by cruelty to his captives, reflects the highest credit upon his humanity as a man, and his justice as a prince. Seeing that the heart of the army was with his brother, and being himself of a peaceable and unambitious disposition, Hyrcanus consented to yield the sovereignty to his younger brother, and seek that peace in a private life which he could not attain as a monarch; but Hyrcanus, like many other princes, had the misfortune to have about him an ambitious *friend*, who had two potent reasons for

disliking the abdication of Hyrcanus. The first was, that a peace between the brothers would be a death-blow to all his ambitious views of aggrandizement ; and the second was, the personal dislike he had for Aristobulus. This *friend* was Antipater, the Idumean. In vain he tried to rouse the mild and inactive prince, who was a lover of peace and hated war. Seeing he could not prevail upon Hyrcanus to adopt his ambitious views, he tried to work upon his fears ; and made him believe that his brother was plotting to deprive him of life, and that the only chance of safety remaining for him was to flee to Aretas, king of Arabia.

Shortly after, we find the Arabian monarch at the head of 50,000 troops marching against Aristobulus. The chances of war this time declared in favour of Hyrcanus (or rather his ally, Aretas). Aristobulus fled to the temple, and was besieged therein ; there he found himself deserted by all except the priests. In the meanwhile Scaurus, who was sent by Pompey into Syria, made his appearance at Damascus : thither the two brothers sent their ambassadors, and each party endeavoured to bribe the all-powerful Roman in their favour. Aristobulus promised four hundred talents, and so did his brother : the Roman decided in favour of the younger, for he was *brave*, the highest virtue in the estimation of a Roman ; and he was *rich*, a virtue all over the world. The fall of Hyrcanus was decided ; the Roman ordered Aretas, the Arabian king, to raise the siege ; and Aristobulus was once more triumphant.

When Pompey himself arrived at Damascus afterwards, the two brothers again sent ambassadors. Antipater, the Idumean, pleaded the cause of Hyrcanus. After deferring his judgment until spring, Pompey, at the appointed time, again dismissed them without a decision ; but ordered them to keep the peace. Tired of this procrastination, and

suspecting the intentions of Pompey, Aristobulus went to the city of Delius, and from thence marched into Judea. On hearing of this Pompey marched against him ; and no sooner did he arrive at the fortress where Aristobulus had fled to, than he commanded him to appear before him, and eventually forced him to sign an order for the surrender of his fortresses. Subsequently we find Pompey advancing towards Jerusalem. He took Aristobulus prisoner, and pitched his camp on the north of the temple. Thus we find that the squabbles of two brothers, mainly instigated by Antipater, the Idumean, brought the invader into our country and our temple.

It is with feelings of national pride we read, that, in spite of Roman skill and valour, in spite of the engines brought from Tyre, in spite of the acknowledged superiority of Pompey as a general, the holy citadel defied the Roman power for three months, and even then was only lost through the strict observance of the Sabbath by our forefathers. Pompey was aware, that the Jews (since the days of Mattathias) were allowed to defend themselves on the Sabbath; but as this permission only referred to the defence of their persons when *attacked*, he carefully abstained from any assault on the Sabbath, and employed his time in preparing his engines and drawing them near the wall ready for assault on the following day. Thus was the great Pompey obliged to effect that by stratagem, which his valour might not so easily have accomplished. Whilst every Jew must read with grief the details of our national calamity; yet a lofty feeling of admiration will fill his breast, when he reflects on that unparalleled heroism displayed by our priestly forefathers during Pompey's assault on the temple. With stones and arrows flying about their heads ; with slain warriors and wounded soldiers at their feet, crowded and crushed, stabbed and trampled upon ; with

the glittering weapons thrust into their faces and breasts, the pious priests went on with their holy office, and often, very often, the human sacrifice expired on the pavement long ere the sin-offering was consumed on the altar.

Justice demands from us here to notice the great forbearance and magnanimity of Pompey. On entering the temple, as conqueror, he beheld the valuable vessels of gold and silver; the golden table, the golden candlestick, valuable spices and treasures in abundance; yet the great Roman touched nothing; but left everything as he found it, giving orders to purify the temple and to offer the sacrifices required by law. The high priesthood he bestowed upon Hyrcanus; but Jerusalem became tributary to the Romans. Pompey departed, and with him he took Aristobulus and his children (two sons and two daughters). Thus far the conqueror of the city of God was triumphant; but from this period his good fortune began to fail him—and prosperity and he became strangers.

Antipater watched every opportunity to ingratiate himself into the favour of the Romans. On the occasion of an expedition against Petra in Arabia by Scaurus, Antipater furnished him with provisions and other necessaries, and made himself further useful as ambassador to Aretas, whom he induced to part with a considerable sum of money to Scaurus, to save his country from devastation. Scarcely did Hyrcanus begin to think himself safe from further troubles, when he was confounded with the news that Alexander, the son of Aristobulus, had escaped from the Romans and was already in the field, with an army of 10,000 foot and 1,500 horse. The timid Hyrcanus appealed to the Romans. The arrival of Gabinius, with his Roman forces, put a stop to Alexander's further progress. Disheartened by defeat, that valliant youth was constrained to send an embassy to the



successful Roman, requesting his pardon for his conduct. This was granted to him through the intercession of his mother. Shortly after, Aristobulus himself escaped from Rome, and when he arrived in Judea, he had the gratification to find that his countrymen had not forgotten his former valour. They flocked around him from all quarters, and he soon found himself at the head of 8000 armed men; but fortune was against him, and he and his son Antigonus again found themselves captives in the hands of Gabinius. A mother's prayers, however, prevailed with the Romans; and her children were restored to her.

No sooner did Alexander, the son of Aristobulus, recover from his former defeats and disappointments, then he tried a second time to seize upon the government; he soon collected a large force, and going about the country, vented his rage upon every Roman he could lay his hands on. Gabinius again found Antipater of great service to him, for by his persuasion he induced a great many to keep aloof from Alexander and his cause. Gabinius himself attacked the valiant youth, and the Roman eagle was again triumphant. Little did the victorious Gabinius think, when flushed with pride and glory, he gazed upon the slaughtered Israelites, what an ignominious fate awaited him at Rome; the rough soldier, could he have read futurity, might have envied the lot of the lowliest warrior who found an honoured grave in the land of his fathers.

Subsequently Crassus made his appearance in Judea. His plundering all the gold that was in the temple is aggravated by the fact, that, upon the receipt of a large ingot of gold, he promised the priest Elcazar upon *oath*, that he would spare the rest. But the avaricious soldier disregarded his promise: gold was his god of gods; and yet all the gold in the world could not save him in that dread

hour, when he and all his army perished in that very Parthia he went to destroy.

But, alas! the fated land of our fathers was never to be long without a destroyer. No sooner did one actor go off the stage than another made his appearance. Poor bleeding Judea next beheld herself bereft of 30,000 of her hapless inhabitants, led into captivity to attest the triumph of the reckless Cassius.

After Cæsar had taken Rome, a momentary gleam of hope shone upon Aristobulus. Cæsar released him, with the intention of sending him back to Judea with an efficient force; but Pompey's party poisoned him. Antony subsequently sent his body to Judea, where it was buried in the royal sepulchre. Alexander the valiant son of Aristobulus, was beheaded by Scipio at Antioch.

After the defeat and death of Pompey, Antipater made himself particularly useful to Cæsar during the war with Egypt. It was his valour alone which stopped the progress of the Egyptians, when they had well nigh defeated and put to flight the right wing under the command of Mithridates. Cæsar evinced his gratitude, by bestowing upon Antipater all the privileges of a Roman citizen; and among the other tokens of his regard, he confirmed Hyrcanus (the *friend* of Antipater) in the high priesthood. Whilst the politic Idumean was basking in the sunshine of Cæsar's favour, the simple Antigonus, son of Aristobulus, presented himself before the tribunal of Cæsar, and accused Antipater as being the cause of his father's and brother's death; and he charged Hyrcanus with misgovernment and cruelty. And what was the result? Antipater made a speech wherein he clearly showed that he was a perfect saint, and that Hyrcanus was much the same; that he and his party were of service to Cæsar, whilst Aristobulus and his son, having

been the enemies of Rome, were, of course, justly put to death. The magnanimous Cæsar confirmed Hyrcanus in the priesthood, and Antipater was to have “ what principality he himself should choose.” What chance was there for the poor beardless boy against Antipater “ the procurator of Judea ?”

And now Antipater began to put into practice what had been his constant study for years. He appointed Phasaelus governor of Jerusalem, and put Galilee into the hands of Herod, his second son. Hitherto, Hyrcanus and Antipater lived upon the friendliest terms, the feeble priest was content to be led and guided by his *friend*; and the “ procurator” found it to be subservient to his interest to advance the prosperity of *his* friend: but if Hyrcanus was blind to the real character<sup>s</sup> of Antipater, there were others (made keen-sighted through envy and fear) who undertook the somewhat difficult task of undeceiving the indolent Hyrcanus. The charge that Antipater bought the golden opinions of the Romans by presenting the money sent by Hyrcanus in his own name and in his own behalf, he felt disposed to pass over unheeded; but the crime of Herod against the laws of the land, in putting to death a robber without being first sentenced by the Sanhedrin, he could not overlook; he therefore, mustered courage and summoned Herod to appear before him. Herod appeared before the Grand Sanhedrin, armed and guarded. With all

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<sup>s</sup> The *דור דור* however, has a very high opinion of Antipater's integrity. he says—*ומשיחו היה אנטיפטר הנ"ל גם איש צדיק חסיד ושלם והיה—* *עשה חסד ותשועה גדולה לכלל הירקנים כל ימי חייו*—*i.e.*, and “ his Prime Minister was the afore-mentioned Antipater, also a righteous, pious and tranquil man, who wrought kindness and great assistance to King Hyrcanus all the days of his life.”

the effrontery of conscious independence, he stood before them—the beardless boy—before the most august assembly of the land. But the whole court was struck dumb. All his accusers, hitherto so clamorous, suddenly disappeared; and the judges gazed at each other, and they looked down to the ground as they felt the blush of shame glowing on their cheeks. The judges trembled before the criminal, who despised them in his heart. One man alone out of the whole assembly had the courage to address the king and the court. He spared neither them nor Herod; and concluded with warning them that this very man whom they had not the courage now to condemn, would one day destroy both them and their king. The spirit of prophecy flowed from the lips of that venerable man when he spoke. The time came when Herod slew every member of that Sanhedrin except Sameas, who alone had the boldness to uphold the dignity of the court.

The effeminate Hyrcanus had previously received an intimation from Sextus [Caesar, that it was his will and pleasure that Herod be acquitted. The trial was deferred. Herod, by Hyrcanus' advice, left the city; and the perfumed courtiers of the Jewish court whispered that "he fled from the king." However, Herod could not easily forgive Hyrcanus the affront of summoning him to a trial; and he embraced the earliest opportunity of marching against him. The timid priest would probably have been frightened, if not beaten to death; but that the keen-sighted Antipater (who very likely deemed his son's eagerness too premature) interfered in behalf of Hyrcanus; and thus Jerusalem escaped the assault. In the meanwhile, Hyrcanus and the Romans were on the best terms imaginable. The Jews were honoured and respected; leagues of peace and amity were made and confirmed, and the Roman and

Jewish people were thus like a newly-married couple during the honeymoon, whose loving kindness is no proof that at some future period they will not tear each other's eyes out.

If it be true, as we are led to believe by some of our teachers, that the fiends rejoice at the calamities of mankind; that, seeing and not seen, they view our miseries with delight, what an interesting comedy must a battle-field be to them! Myriads of human beings tearing each others' entrails to pieces; and fathers feeding upon the corn grown on the field manured with the bones of their own children!\* What delightful stage-scenery a Waterloo must appear to them! A Napoleon would be their Liston, an Alexander would be their Matthews, and what would Julius Cæsar be? Was he anything better than "a poor stage player, who doffs his royal garments the moment he leaves the stage"? Let him who would gainsay this, look at Cæsar as he lies in the senate, slain by Brutus and others, and ask himself wherein lies the difference?

After Cæsar's death, Cassius went to Syria to get soldiers and weapons, and, what was more powerful than either, money. Now, Herod was the cleverest collector of that article, therefore, the "honourable man" Cassius, loved him. Malichus was not so clever at it; and therefore he was worthy of death. The generous Hyrcanus, however, purchased his life, through the agency of Antipater, for a hundred talents. The Idumean little dreamt that this very Malichus was destined to be his murderer. Cassius got a hundred talents to spare the life of Malichus; a myriad of talents could not save Cassius' life at Philippi. After the

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\* It is a well-known fact, that after the battle of Waterloo, many of the English farmers bought the bones of the slain for the purpose of manuring their fields with them.

defeat of Cassius, Herod and Hyrcanus bought golden opinions from Mark Antony, who, in his turn, played the hero.

Hyrcanus made a generous use of his influence with Antony. He got the manumission of the captives carried away by Cassius out of Judea ; but an unforeseen calamity soon befell that kind-hearted priest, from which he never recovered. Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus, aided by the king of the Parthians, advanced into Judea, and took Hyrcanus and Phasaelus prisoners. To annihilate every chance of Hyrcanus ever being high-priest again, he cruelly cut his ears off, which, according to the Mosaic law, disqualified him ever after. Phasaelus, to save himself from worse treatment, dashed his head against a huge stone, and died.

Herod went to Rome to appeal to Antony against the Parthians ; and, to his own surprise, the Roman senate, through the influence of Antony, made him king of Judea. About three years after he was proclaimed king by the Roman senate, we find Herod advancing towards Jerusalem. He pitched his camp before the temple, intending to conduct the siege according to the plan adopted on a former occasion by Pompey. Having appointed competent officers to look after the progress of the siege and the necessary labours thereto, Herod set out for Samaria in order to marry Marianne, the grand-daughter of Aristobulus. Scarcely was the honeymoon completed, when he returned to the siege, where he was joined by Sosius, who was sent by Antony to his assistance. Their joint force consisted of eleven legions of foot and six thousand horse, the valour displayed by the besieged was of no avail, the city and the temple were taken ; and poor Jerusalem experienced once more all the horrors of a conquered city. The unfortunate Antigonus fell prostrate at the feet of Sosius ; but instead of mercy he met with insult, the Roman disdainfully called

him by the feminine appellation of “*Antigone*.” Having thus obtained possession of Jerusalem, Herod began to play the amiable; he pretended to grieve at the loss of his “citizens,” and seemed horribly afraid lest the *strangers* should behold things which were not lawful to be seen by the vulgar eye, and whilst the Romans were recklessly plundering and slaughtering, regardless of either age or sex, he repeatedly asked Sosius whether he meant to leave him monarch of a desert. What a strange unaccountable being man is! This very Sosius, who played such pranks in the sight of God and of the citizens, dedicated out of his plunder, before he left Jerusalem, a crown of gold to the God of the Jews! Poor Antigonus was brought captive to the feet of Antony, who, being convinced by the most potent of Herod’s arguments, his gold, condemned him to be beheaded at Antioch, and thus ended the government of the Asmonean family.

When the unfortunate earless Hyrcanus, who found an asylum among the Jews at Babylon, heard of the prosperous career of Herod, he was seized with a sudden desire to revisit the land of his fathers. Relying upon the reiterated promises of Herod that he would meet with a kind reception, Hyrcanus reappeared in the land of Judea; and though, outwardly, Herod bestowed upon him every mark of esteem and affection, yet the poor priest had the irremediable mortification to witness an obscure stranger elevated to the high-priesthood in his place. The old man sighed at the reflections of the past, he shook his head contentedly, and remained silent: not so his daughter Alexandra, she could not bear the thought that the high-priesthood should be conferred upon another, whilst her own son Aristobulus, who was both fit and worthy of that high dignity himself, should be excluded. She appealed



to Cleopatra, of whose influence over Antony she was well aware : but not having her request granted as soon as she expected, she was advised to send the portraits of her two children (Aristobulus, the would-be-highpriest, and Mariamne, the wife of Herod) to Antony, in the hopes that their extreme beauty would plead in their favour. Scarcely did the lascivious Anthony behold the portrait of the handsome youth than he wrote to Herod, requesting him to send Aristobulus to him : this did not suit the crafty Idumean, the boy must neither be beloved nor protected by the Roman triumvir ; yet how must he refuse his *friend's* request ? He conferred the high-priesthood upon the beardless boy ; his services were of course needed at home. Aristobulus was invested with the pontifical robes, and shortly after with his shroud. Whilst bathing with some companions in a pool near Jericho, the poor youth was clandestinely drowned ; Herod shed a flood of tears, and got up a magnificent funeral in honour of the high-priest, whom he would rather have officiate in the highest heavens, than in the remotest corner of the earth. Alexandra, the mother of Aristobulus, was frantic with grief, rage, and disappointment, and in the agony of despair was about to destroy herself, when revenge — that unholy passion which can make a tiger out of a dove — drove her from her purpose : henceforth she lived for hatred ; revenge became her food—her pleasure, nay, her very god.

In the bitterness of her soul she wrote to Cleopatra, and, with the deep eloquence of a bereaved mother, she depicted with bitter tears the murder of her beauteous child by the hand of Herod. The imperious Roman commanded the presence of the Jewish king. Herod obeyed the mandate ; he appointed his uncle Joseph procurator of Judea during his absence, and left private instructions with

him to slay his beloved Mariamne, in case Antony should condemn him to die. But the injudicious Joseph betrayed his master's confidence; he revealed Herod's instructions to the beautiful Mariamne, and to the revengeful Alexandra.

Shortly after, a false report reached Jerusalem of Herod's death. The terrified queen and her mother entreated Joseph to flee with them to the Roman legions for protection; and whilst they were deliberating, a second report announced the success and safety of Herod. On the re-appearance of Herod, Joseph paid with his head the penalty of his indiscretion, Alexandra was cast ignominiously into prison, and the poor trembling Mariamne stood before the raging tyrant, accused of having purchased the knowledge of the fatal secret at the price of her honour.

Whilst a terrible earthquake smote Judea, and deprived her of 30,000 lives, Octavius smote Antony at Actium, and Herod trembled for his life and his throne. Resolving to go himself to Rhodes, and if possible to appease the conquering hero, Herod could not bear the thought of leaving behind him the deposed Hyrcanus, possibly to rejoice at his fall; his doom was fixed, and the venerable old man, the last of the Asmonean princes, fell a victim to the cruelty and jealousy of Herod "the Great." The interview between Herod and Octavius terminated to the entire satisfaction of both; but what earthly prosperity can yield a single beam of joy to the guilty soul of a multifarious murderer? Has he a home for peace, a wife for love, a child to caress? The poorest slave in thy dominions has a hope of a time to come—can the fiftieth generation enfranchise thy soul, O slayer of thousands? Previous to his setting out on his hazardous journey, Herod again left orders for his wife's death, in case he should himself perish, and confided his charge to Joseph and Sohemus of Iturea,

and again the fatal secret was betrayed to his wife ; is it then to be wondered that, on his return home, instead of meeting a fond and over-joyed wife congratulating him on his happy return, he found his sweet Mariamne in tears, recoiling back in horror from his fond embrace ? She openly accused him of his cruel and inhuman orders relative to herself,—she shrank from him as from a reptile, and undisguisedly avowed her abhorrence of a man whose love was even more fatal than his hatred. Mad with love and rage, Herod paced up and down, like a hungry tiger who had once tasted human blood, eager for more. “ Off with his head,” was the monarch’s imperious mandate, and from the shoulders of Sohemus rolled a lifeless mass of mutilated flesh and blood,—he was beyond the tyrant’s grasp. Still his adored Mariamne stood in bold defiance of his love and hatred, indifferent alike to his frantic rage and furious love, unmoved by threats, and unsubdued by caresses, she looked upon the murderer of her race with a woman’s hatred, and fell by the hand which slew her father and her father’s father ; she died by the murderer of her brother and uncle, the annihilator of the Asmonean race.

But horrible and revolting as must be the sight of a woman led to execution, the history of this period displays to our view a scene, if possible, still more repugnant and terrific ; whilst the incomparable Mariamne, with the majestic dignity of a queen, was advancing fearlessly to the scaffold, her own mother, Alexandra, pounced upon her like a fury, and accused her of ingratitude to *so kind a husband* ; she charged her as being the author of her own misfortunes, through her stubbornness towards the benefactor of her race ; tearing her hair, and rending her clothes, the shameless hypocrite continued to heap the

bitterest reproaches upon her hapless child, until a shout of deep-felt indignation burst from the lips of the assembled multitude, and silenced the being who forfeited for ever her title to the name of woman and mother.

The poor queen died ; peace be to her soul ! but Herod lived to feel all the unmitigated pangs of a gnawing conscience. In the depth of the night, when all around is silence and gloom, when nothing is heard but the regular pacing of the sentinel to and fro, a sudden shriek, more terrible than the hyena's laugh, pierces the air. " Mariamne ! Mariamne !" cries a raging maniac ; and Mariamne remains in her cold grave, and heeds not the voice of her despairing lover. " Bring me my queen !" cries the tyrant, and seizing hold of the trembling sentinel, he bade him call for Mariamne. Deep and heartrending was the grief of the minstrel king when he cried aloud, " Absalom, Absalom ! my son, my son Absalom !" but the blood of his child was not upon his head. " Mariamne ! Mariamne !" cries the blood-stained Herod, and he trembles from head to foot, lest a bleeding corpse should rise from the grave and clasp him in her cold embrace. Suddenly he stands still, and gazes upon vacancy, and his feverish imagination brings into his presence his lovely bride as she appeared on her nuptial night, and he falls on his knees and kisses the ground, from which she gradually recedes as an artificial figure in a panorama ; and the raging tyrant again cries aloud, " Mariamne ! Mariamne !" And the morning breaks, and the reckless monarch rushes forth, and would flee, like a wounded stag, from hill to dale, and wade through streams and brooks, and spring over hedges and ditches, to elude the hot pursuer, in vain ; the avenger is in his bosom ; he cannot fly from himself. Anon, to clamorous pleasures, he rushes headlong to feasts and

assemblies, to theatres and amphitheatres ; here the gladiator contends in his presence for glory with the beast ; there the chariot-race fleets past him with the swiftness of an arrow : here the sinewed boxer displays his “ noble art of self-defence ;” there the effeminate songster mimics the warbling nightingale ; and the sounds of mirth are grating to his ears, the merry dance and the luxurious feast are sickening to his soul ; the contentions of men and beasts bring blood into his sight, and the voice of wild despair dins in his ears, “ Sleep no more, Herod ! sleep no more.” And now a pale and haggard woman is led to the scaffold, hurried onward by the coarse guards ; they push her forward, and no one sheds a tear ; no child is there to bewail a mother’s loss ; no parent, no relative, to bid a mournful farewell. “ Who goes there ?” asks one inquisitive being. “ It is Alexandra, the mother of poor Mariamne,” was the reply, and the multitude rush forward to see her die, and the earth has one body more and one soul less. Whilst all kinds of pleasures and dissipations brought no peace to the guilty soul of Herod, an incident occurred which diverted, in some measure, his gloomy thoughts to another channel. The most abandoned and reckless criminals have often been known, even when steeped to the neck in guilt, to do actions not unworthy of the noblest heroes. How comes it ? Is it because a spark of the Godhead dwells in every human body ? Or is it because a guilty soul seeks to expiate past evils by future good ? The outstretched arm of God brought upon Judea a horrible famine, followed by disease and pestilence ; there was neither corn for food nor for seed, and the whole nation was on the verge of destruction. Herod seized this favourable opportunity to do an action which would bring some balm to his guilty soul, and procure him some popularity with a race who hated

him for his descent, and abhorred him for his cruel deeds. Though his coffers were impoverished in consequence of his gifts and bribes to the Romans ; though many of his resources had been expended on wars, buildings, and pleasures ; yet, with a magnanimity which contrasted strangely with his usual character, he stripped his palace of its costly furniture, of its gold and silver, and deprived himself of every luxury, to enable him to feed and clothe a starving multitude, at a time when heaven itself seemed to have abandoned them to destruction.

Being in some degree recovered from his former troubles, Herod again fell in love, and in order to raise the rank of the family with which he was about to ally himself, he deprived Jesus, the son of Phabet, of the high-priesthood, and conferred that dignity upon Simon, the father of his future bride. Having sent his two sons (which he had by Mariamne) to Rome, where they were treated in the kindest and most sumptuous manner by Cæsar, we next find Herod engaged in that extraordinary undertaking, the rebuilding of the temple. Amazement and terror seized the whole Jewish race, when they beheld the sacred edifice pulled to pieces, stone by stone, and a dreadful doubt assailed the people, lest, when once pulled down, it should never be reared again ; but they were soon undeceived, and a grateful people beheld with their own eyes their new temple reared by the hands of their own priests,<sup>9</sup> in the short space of eighteen months,—the politic Herod having wisely got all his new materials ready before he ventured to pull down the old.

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<sup>9</sup> The צמח דוד tells us, that, during all the time Herod was rebuilding the temple, no rain fell during the day, in order that the builders should not be hindered from their work. When it did rain, it always came down during the night.

On the return of Herod's sons from Rome, Salome, the king's sister, who, by her calumnies, greatly accelerated the death of Mariamne, dreaded and envied the prosperous position of the children of the woman she had so deeply wronged ; she endeavoured to calumniate them in the eyes of their father, to whom she represented that his own children looked upon him with abhorrence as the murderer of their beloved mother. Still the fond father felt reluctant to give credence to his sister's tales ; and evinced his paternal anxiety and affection by choosing suitable wives for sons, from whose progeny he fondly hoped for the descent of a long line of powerful kings. But Herod's "evil genius," his sister, was not to be baffled in her designs ; she poisoned the father's ears against his children, and constantly kept his troubled mind on the rack. Despairing of filial love from the sons of Mariamne, and wishful to humble his sons through the fear of being disinherited in favour of another, Herod sent for his eldest son who was born whilst he was yet in a private station, and immediately upon his arrival, the villanous Antipater joined with his intriguing aunt, Salome, in her destructive plots against the sons of Mariamne.

Subsequently we find the king of Judea bringing his two sons before the tribunal of Cæsar, the father accusing his children of plotting against his life. Awed by the presence of Cæsar, and by the enormity of the charge against them, the sons of Herod were completely dumbfounded, terror and confusion were painted on their youthful features, but Cæsar saw that it was not the confusion of guilt ; and the noble defence of Alexander convinced even Herod himself that the greatest guilt of his children went not beyond indiscretion ; and now the father and his children were clasped in each other's arms, and vied with each other in returning thanks to Cæsar, who so much



contributed towards their reconciliation. Antipater, too, assumed the guise of great delight at the peaceful termination of the trial, which inwardly gnawed his soul with bitter disappointment; but "there is no peace for the wicked, saith the Lord," the house of Herod was soon again thrown into confusion, hatred, and mutual abhorrence: plots and counterplots, treason and rebellion, captivity and disgrace, tortures and executions, were the constant scenes and topics in the Jewish court; the rage of Herod again became unbounded, and again the father accused his children in the open court; and, with an eloquence worthy of a better cause, he obtained a verdict against his own flesh and blood. The sons of Mariamne were strangled by their father's orders at Sebaste.

And what did Antipater profit by his villany? What peace did Herod purchase by the cruel death of his sons? The wretched man lived to detect a horrid conspiracy of his eldest son Antipater, to remove his fond father by poison, in order that he might himself ascend the vacant throne. But the avenging hand of Heaven was yet outstretched, and further horrors were still in store for the guilty monarch. His wife, she who was to replace in Herod's bosom the loss of the beautiful Mariamne, even she was detected participating in a conspiracy against his life. In the meanwhile, the false and hypocritical Antipater was brought to trial, and condemned to die the death of a traitor. Well, indeed, might Augustus exclaim, "I would rather be Herod's hog than his son." And now the avenging hand of the Almighty fell with redoubled force upon the prostrate king, tortured and agonised with a disease, the recital of which makes our blood run cold with horror, without a single being in the whole kingdom that he could call his friend, the frantic monarch was about to add the crime of suicide to his guilty soul, when he received the ratification of the sentence of

death against his son Antipater ; he lived long enough to order his execution, and then died a death which, at this day, only one living monarch deserves to attain.<sup>10</sup> Previous to his death, the tortured monarch summoned the principal men of the Jewish nation, and shut them up in the Hippodrome. He then sent for his sister Salome ; he told her that his last moments were embittered with the thought that the whole nation would rejoice at his death, and that he wished for, and would have mourning and lamentation, “as men expect at a king’s death.” He, therefore, desired her to put to death all the captives in the Hippodrome, as soon as he himself died, and thus, whilst the whole nation would lament their death, *his* funeral would be graced with tearful eyes, and the whole land would be wrapped in mourning and lamentation.

Herod “the Great” lived and died, and attracted the notice of the whole world ; but there lived in his dominions, in comparative obscurity, a being who was destined to create

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<sup>10</sup> The דור צמח has a few kind words for Herod, they are a *literary curiosity*, and the reader shall have the benefit of them:—

המלך הורדוס היה בתחילת מלכותו איש דמים ומרמה , והיה נוח לקבל לשון הרע אשר בסיבת זה דם נקי שפך , אך ההחרט על מעשיו הרעים , והתנהג במדות טובות ועשה טובות גדולות לישראל , היה אוהב את החכמים ומכבדם , ונתן להם ספוק ומזון , והעמיד נשיאים מבית דוד הלל ובניו כנ"ל , ומצו ישראל מנוחה בימיו , ומלכו בניו ובני בניו אחריו עד חורבן הבית :

*i. e.* King Herod was, in the commencement of his reign, a man of blood and deceit, and was easily led to receive slander, through which cause he shed innocent blood, but he repented of his evil deeds, and conducted himself with good qualities, and did much good for Israel. He was a lover of the wise, and honoured them, giving them food and (other) necessities ; he also raised princes from the house of David, Hillel and his sons, as stated above ; and Israel found rest in his days, and his children and his children’s children reigned after him until the destruction of the Temple.

a revolution in this world, far more important than the battles and the strifes of ten thousand Herods—the founder of Christianity, the meek and mild Jesus, the son of Mary, walked in the streets of Jerusalem, preaching his doctrines among the children of men. Oh! could he have foreseen the horrid deeds of darkness, the boundless cruelties and the countless murders that would be perpetrated in his name, he would, like Moses of old, have dashed his doctrines to the ground, and prayed to Heaven that “his soul came not into their secret, and that unto their assembly his honour might not be united.”

The will of Herod assigned to Archelaus, Idumea, Judea, and Samaria; after his father's funeral, Archelaus embraced the earliest opportunity to set out for Rome, to get from Cæsar the confirmation of his father's will. his brother Herod Antipas also appeared before Cæsar, and claimed a prior right, founded on a former will of Herod; his brother Philip, his aunt Salome, and a host of friends and relatives, each and all, were there eagerly watching the imperial lips, which were to utter the oracular words which must decide their fate, “The decree went forth from Cæsar:” Archelaus, under the title of Ethnarch, obtained Judea, Idumea, and Samaria; Herod Antipas had his share assigned to him; Philip also obtained his portion; Salome, the sister of Herod, with three or four cities and a yearly revenue of sixty talents, sat brooding over future mischief; the ten millions of drachmæ left by Herod to Augustus, the magnanimous Roman bestowed principally as dowries upon the two daughters of Herod, and reserved to himself only some plate in memory of his departed friend.

Scarcely did Judea begin to enjoy a few moment's peace, when the Jewish world was again disturbed by the appearance of an impostor, who claimed to be Alexander, the son of Herod; the report quickly circulated that the two sons of

Herod were not murdered at all, that the executioner spared their lives, and slew others in their stead; the striking similarity of the impostor to the son of the late king, his age, stature, and personal appearance, so far favoured his imposture, that, confident of success, he even ventured to go to Rome, and was summoned into the presence of Cæsar. The keen-eyed Roman was not to be deceived; he promised to spare his life, on condition of his confessing the imposture and the origin thereof; the spurious Alexander confessed the whole, and became a mariner in the service of Cæsar. Archelaus was not destined to reign long over a nation whose laws he openly transgressed, and whose citizens he oppressed with the greatest cruelty and barbarity; he was accused by his people before Cæsar, was banished to Vienne, and Judea became a Roman province. Under the procuratorship of Pilate, we find the Jews sadly disturbed, by the introduction into Jerusalem of the forbidden images; the Roman eagles, the insignia of Cæsar, were publicly paraded through the streets of the holy city, and the horrified Jews fell prostrate at the feet of the Roman, declaring that they would rather die than see the laws of their fathers transgressed. The sight of such religious devotion softened the heart of the heathen, and the offensive images were removed.

But peace has taken to itself wings, and fled from the ill-fated land of our fathers; the people, exasperated at the sacrilegious seizure by Pilate of the revenue of the Temple for profane uses, openly obstructed the workmen employed by Pilate in their construction of aqueducts and other buildings of utility. Pilate disguised his soldiers in the plebeian garb of the country: they fell upon the defenceless people, and the blood of our fathers was poured out like water. On the complaints of the Samaritan Senate being laid before Vitellius, he ordered Pilate to Rome, there

to answer the charge against him ; whilst he himself visited Jerusalem during the Passover, where he was received with the greatest honour and distinction ; he gained considerable popularity by remitting some taxes on the sale of fruit, and became almost idolised when he restored the Pontifical robes (which were, since the days of Hyrcanus the First, kept in the Castle of Baris) into the care of the High Priest, who placed them in the treasury within the temple. On the following occasion also, the generous Roman displayed his praiseworthy consideration for the religious scruples of our race :—Herod the Tetrarch involved himself in war with the king of Arabia, in consequence of his having repudiated the daughter of that monarch : and the result was that the whole army of Herod was destroyed. The defeated prince appealed for assistance to the Romans: Vitellius was on his way to Petra, the Arabian capital ; he had to pass with his army through Judea, but on being requested by the Jews not to display his standards, which were ornamented with images, he ordered his army across the Jordan, whilst himself and Herod went to Jerusalem to offer sacrifices to God, “ an ancient festival of the Jews being just approaching,” says Josephus ; Milman says it was the “ Passover ;” Jost says it was the “ Laubhüttenfeste,” the Feast of Tabernacles. On the fourth day after his arrival at Jerusalem, Vitellius received the information of Tiberius’s death, and the accession of Caligula.

History now brings Agrippa, the grandson of Herod “ the Great,” on the stage. Through the favour of Antonia, Agrippa had the advantage of being brought up at Rome along with Drusus, the son of Tiberius, and consequently he enjoyed the friendship of the *probable* future Cæsar. Squandering his wealth with the prodigality of an heir apparent, Agrippa’s hopes of future greatness were suddenly destroyed by the death of Drusus. Tiberius, the father of Drusus, could

not bear to behold the companions of his departed child; and poor Agrippa, overwhelmed with grief and debt, had to fly from Rome to the land of his fathers. Arriving at Malatha, steeped in poverty and distress, the unfortunate Agrippa was about to lay violent hands on himself, when his hands were timely stayed by his wife Cyprus. Strange and various were the changes and adventures which poor Agrippa saw previous to that lucky moment when a diadem was placed on his brow; and not the least remarkable one was that wonderful tale relating to the owl. In grief and misery stood the purple-clad Agrippa in bonds before the royal palace: a fellow-prisoner, a German, advanced towards him, and the spirit of prophecy being on his lips, he foretold the future monarch that his bondage would not last long, that much power, greatness, and dignity were yet in store for him; and like Pharaoh's cup-bearer before Joseph, he requested Agrippa to remember him when fortune smiled upon him; and his predictions proved true. "But," continued the prophetic German, "look at yonder owl, it is a sign to thee; when again thou seest it, know, O Agrippa, thou mayest then be sure that thou hast but five days to live." Of the ten thousand thousand *unfulfilled* dreams and prodigies we take no note: let but one lucky blunder throw one *miraculous* fulfilment in our way, and we cry aloud "what a prodigy!" And yet history affords some instances of birds who came to bring warning of approaching death. We read of the great Cicero, when he was snugly asleep, whilst his murderous pursuers were hard upon him, that a number of crows came fluttering at his window to warn him of his danger.<sup>11</sup> What a pity it is that the kind services

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<sup>11</sup> "Weary of life and the sea, he declared that he would die in that country (Cajeta) which he had so often saved. Here he slept soundly for several hours; though, as some writers tell us, a great number of crows were fluttering all the while, and making a strange

of his feathered friends should have proved so entirely useless to the great orator!

On the death of Tiberius, Caius (subsequently called Caligula) ascended the throne: he took the overjoyed Agrippa from a dungeon to place him on a throne; and the iron fetters dropped from his feet. The Roman monarch presented him with a chain of gold of equal weight with the iron ones. A year hence Agrippa returned to Palestine invested with all the majesty of royalty. But whilst all around him gazed with wonder upon his prosperity, which sometimes gained him the appellation of "the happy man," his own sister Herodias viewed his elevation with bitter envy and jealousy; she could not bear the thought that her wild and prodigal brother should thus be elevated above her husband, who had been Tetrarch for thirty-nine years. Weary of the constant entreaties of his wife, Herod at last yielded to her wishes, and set out for Rome, in the hopes of returning with a diadem, to please his envious wife. His mission proved a failure; Caligula not only refused him a crown, but he took from him his Ethnarchate, and added it to the dominions of Agrippa; Herod himself was banished to Lyons in Gaul. To the honour of human nature be it recorded, that even the ambitious Herodias rejected the tempting offers of Caligula, and preferred to go into exile

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noise about the windows, as if to rouse and warn him of his approaching fate; and that one of them made its way into the chamber, and pulled away his very bed-clothes."—Biographical Sketch of Cicero, by Professor Duncan.

History informs us that Ali Ebn Abu Taleb, son-in-law of Mohammed, was also warned, previous to his death, by some friendly birds. As he went out in the morning, passing through his yard on his way to the mosque, the household birds were observed to make an unusual noise; one of his slaves threw a cudgel at them; but Ali exclaimed, "Let them alone, for their cries are only lamentations foreboding my death."



with her fallen husband. "O woman, woman, with all thy frailty and folly thou art an angel still!"

Not content with being an emperor, the silly Caligula would needs be a god; all nations who own the authority of Rome must raise temples and statues to his godship. The Jews alone refused to acknowledge the deity of flesh and blood, and the offended god became enraged. Provoked by the resistance of the Alexandrian Jews, and further annoyed by the Jews demolishing a brick altar, raised at the instigation of Capito (a receiver of revenue in Judea) by some Greeks who lived at Jamnia. He ordered a gilded statue of himself to be placed in the Holy of Holies, and entrusted the execution of his mandate to Petronius. The mission of the Alexandrian Jews to Caligula proved an entire failure; mocked and insulted, the Jewish embassy stood before the tyrant, enduring his vulgar wit with a patience far more becoming than the undignified conduct of a being, who aspiring to be a god, knew not how to behave like a man; at last the interview ended, and Caligula exclaimed, "Well, after all, they do not seem so bad, they are a poor foolish people who cannot believe that I am a god!" Petronius, who had the unwelcome mission of placing the statue in the temple, ordered it to be made; whilst the Jews, in thousands, with sackcloth and ashes, with tears trickling down their cheeks, presented themselves before Petronius, declaring to a man that they would rather die a thousand deaths than defile the temple of their God. The heart-rending grief of the people, their unparalleled devotion, together with the self-evident impolicy of driving a whole nation desperate, induced Petronius to risk the anger of his master, and to forward the petition of the Jews to Caligula; he also determined to await the reply ere he proceeded with the execution of his mission. In the meanwhile, the humane Petronius

advised the Jews to remain peaceable, and attend to their daily occupations. As if to encourage them to take the Roman's advice, the heavens became cloudy, though the sun shone all day previously, the much wished-for rain came down in showers, reviving the hopes of the people after a long year of drought. It so happened, that whilst Agrippa was at Rome, he invited Caligula to a sumptuous supper; and when he got the god into a good humour, the merry monarch offered to grant Agrippa any favour he would ask. To the honour of Agrippa be it recorded, the reply was, "I desire that thou wilt no longer think of the dedication of that statue which thou hast ordered to be set up in the Jewish temple."

The Roman was taken by surprise, but granted the request, and sent instructions to Petronius accordingly. But the letter of Petronius, in which he informed Caligula of the repugnance evinced by the Jews to the admission of his statue, so enraged the would-be-god, that he immediately wrote to Petronius, accusing him of being corrupted with Jewish presents; and because he did not put his orders into immediate execution, he ordered him to become his own judge, that is, his own executioner, and concluded with telling him that he would make him an example to the present and to all future ages. But ere the letter reached Petronius, the would-be-god was a putrid carcass.

On the accession of Claudius to the throne of the Cæsars, Agrippa was invested with all the dominions which formerly belonged to Herod "the Great." On the return of Agrippa to Judea, he evinced his gratitude to God, by his regard and attention to the religion of his people; the chain of gold presented to him by Caligula, he hung up in the Temple, as a memorial of his happy escape from captivity. Thus far and still further the fortunate Agrippa seemed to personify "the happy man;" but the day at last arrived when

a "change was to come over the spirit of his dream." In the midst of a theatre, in a robe of polished silver, which reflected the rays of the glittering sun and dazzled the eyes of the admiring audience, a deafening shout arose from some shameless courtiers—"A god! Be merciful unto us!" Agrippa heard, but said nothing; a terrible sight he beheld, which made him tremble from head to foot; he stood as motionless as a statue, gazing with eyeballs almost starting from their sockets upon the ill-omened owl, the very bird which came to announce his prosperity, and was destined to warn him of his approaching death. The bird took wing and departed, so did the soul of Agrippa: five days afterwards the king was no more.

On the death of Agrippa, Cassius Longinus became president of Syria, and Cuspius Fadus, governor of Judea. He found the country infested with gangs of robbers: he successfully uprooted many of them, and slew Ptolemy, a noted captain, who committed many depredations. His intention of again depriving the Jews of the custody of the pontifical robes was defeated through young Agrippa, who appealed to the Emperor. On the occasion of a fearful famine, which ravaged Judea, Helena, queen of Adiabene, who was a proselyte to Judaism, evinced her sincerity to her adopted faith, by her benevolent assistance to the poor and needy sufferers of our race.

The recall of Fadus brought the apostate Tiberius Alexander as governor of Judea; his government was short but peaceable, and with the exception of the famine, which continued to afflict the land, there is nothing very important in history to make his brief administration remarkable. He was succeeded by Ventidius Cumanus, whose government was rendered memorable by a great disturbance which took place in Jerusalem. In order to keep the peace during the Passover, when the holy city was generally crowded with

visitors from all parts of the country, Cumanus, as usual, placed some guards in the Temple cloisters; one of the soldiers indecently exposed his person in the presence of the enraged multitude, who looked upon his behaviour as an insult to the Deity. "Some," says Josephus, "reproached Cumanus, and PRETENDED that the soldier was set on by him, which, when Cumanus heard, he was also himself not a little provoked." Cumanus might, *perhaps*, have cleared himself of the charge, had he punished the insolent aggressor according to his deserts; but he preferred to order his whole army into the Antonia, a fortress which overlooked the Temple. The multitude were seized with a sudden panic; they thought themselves pursued by the enemy, and in their eagerness to escape an imaginary danger they fell into a real one: 20,000 human beings were trampled and crushed to death.

Scarcely was the voice of lamentation hushed into silent grief, when another misfortune fell upon the ill-fated people. It appears that some ruffians plundered a certain Stephanus, who had the honour of being the Emperor's slave; the indignant Cumanus, who looked upon plundering the Emperor's free-born subjects as one thing, and plundering the Emperor's slaves quite another, displayed his Roman justice, by plundering the neighbouring villages, and seizing the principal persons in them. One of his heroic soldiers, in the meanwhile, seized a scroll of the Mosaic law; and, in the presence of the multitude, tore it to pieces, and made use, besides, of the most insulting and blasphemous language; the Jews in a body presented themselves before Cumanus, and entreated him to avenge the insult thus offered to their God and his laws. Prompted by fear and by the advice of his friends, Cumanus magnanimously cut off the head of the aggressor: the justice would have been more complete had his own head fallen at the

same time. Subsequently, a quarrel arose between the Jews and their hereditary foes the Samaritans. Some Galilean Jews, who, on their way to the Temple, had to pass through the territory of the Samaritans, were attacked, and many of them slain ; an appeal was made to the justice of Cumanus. His justice was sold to the Samaritans ; he had none left. Hereupon the Jews took the law into their own hands, and, being headed by two bandit chiefs, they attacked and plundered some of the Samaritan villages. Cumanus, glad of the opportunity, attacked the Jews, and with the ready assistance of the Samaritans defeated them. Mainly through the instrumentality of the respectable members of the community, who entreated the insurgents not to be the cause of the destruction of the Temple and the city, the disturbance was quelled ; the matter was, however, brought before Quadratus, prefect of Syria ; he condemned the Samaritans, and put to death all the Jews taken by Cumanus. Subsequently, we are informed, that Dortus, “ one of the chiefs of the Jews,” and some others, were openly persuading the people to revolt from the Romans. Quadratus ordered four of the ringleaders to be put to death ; Ananias, the high-priest, was sent in chains to Rome ; Cumanus himself, and Celez, his military tribune, were also sent to answer for their conduct before the Emperor. Cumanus was banished ; the less fortunate Celez was dragged through the streets of Jerusalem to an ignominious death.

The ill-fated land of our fathers beheld in its next governor, Claudius Felix. This slave-born wretch married the beautiful Drusilla, the daughter of Agrippa the First ; but her beauty was considerably marred by her conduct. Already married to Azizus, king of Emesa — who for her sake underwent the operation of circumcision — the fickle woman unlawfully dissolved her marriage with her

husband, in order to become the wife of Felix, who promised to make her "*a happy woman.*" Can sin and happiness dwell in one bosom? Impossible. Now, as Jonathan, the high-priest, through his influence, was the principal cause of the appointment of Felix to the government of Judea, he deemed himself bound occasionally to advise and admonish Felix relative to his system of government: this did not exactly suit the taste of Felix. The moralising priest became troublesome to him: to get rid of him, the unscrupulous heathen corrupted one of the most "faithful" friends of Jonathan, named Doras, by whose means a gang of armed ruffians were brought into the Temple; and beneath the daggers of these assassins, the poor priest fell prostrate to the ground.

What a frightful picture of insubordination, corruption, and wickedness, do we not behold at this period in the land of our fathers! Robbery and assassination everywhere, even at the altar of God, with human life cheaper than the grass they trod upon, with robbers for their chiefs and robbers for their priests. We gaze upon this sea of living corruption, and with a sigh of deep, shuddering sympathy, we thank "our stars" that our lot was cast in the nineteenth century, and not in the first.

At Cæsarea, where the Jewish and Greek inhabitants were constantly contending for superiority, Felix, in his endeavours to keep the peace, by no means shewed himself the friend of the Jews. The charges they brought against him before the emperor were of no avail. His brother Pallas was the favourite of Nero. The brother of a royal favourite can seldom err. Felix was succeeded by Festus. During the administration of this procurator, the chief men of Jerusalem noticed that Agrippa, from out of his palace, could observe what was going forward in the temple; this they deemed contrary to law, and consequently built a wall

to obstruct his view. This offended both Agrippa and Festus, who ordered the wall to be pulled down. An appeal was made to Nero; and through the influence of his wife, Poppea, "who was a religious woman," leave was granted to let the wall they had built remain unmolested. The death of Festus brought Albinus as governor into Judea. Whilst yet on the road, complaints reached him about the then high-priest Ananus, the son of Ananus, who had the extraordinary fortune of enjoying the high-priesthood himself, and of having five sons who had each been invested with that high dignity.

When Albinus understood the complaints against Ananus, he wrote him an angry letter, and thereupon Agrippa took the high-priesthood from him, and gave it to Jesus, the son of Damneus. Deprived of the priesthood, Ananus made use of his wealth to bribe both the Roman governor and the Jewish priest. His servants, who felt themselves secure in their master's impunity, committed all sorts of wickedness under the wings of his protection; and they carried their insolence so far as to go into the people's threshing floors and take by force the tithes that belonged to the priests, whilst some of the priests who were solely dependant on the tithes for a living, absolutely died for want. Is it then to be wondered at, that God in his anger permitted the destroyer to trample upon a land so full of violence and corruption? The gangs of robbers which infested the towns, villages, and deserts, took advantage of the power of Ananus, to save their guilty comrades from their merited punishment. Whenever any of the banditti were taken prisoners, their friends abroad immediately contrived to seize upon some of the servants or friends of Ananus, whom they kept until their brethren were restored to them. The influence of Ananus with Albinus was always sure to render their captivity of a short duration.



With such injustice openly practised by their heathen rulers, is it to be wondered at, that a people rendered desperate by misery and oppression, should endeavour to throw off a yoke which was getting beyond human endurance? And then, how degraded and undignified must have become the pontificate itself, seeing that priest after priest became elevated and degraded in rapid succession, and the high-priest of one day turned adrift like a lackey by the high-priest of another day, who, in his turn, must yield to a third, until the very children, in derision, could point to both sides of the streets, and cry, "Here is another, and another!"

Jesus, the son of Damneus, was deposed, and Jesus, the son of Gamaliel, succeeded: and history presents us with the horrid sight of two rival priests, each at the head of his rabble, contending in the open streets, and throwing stones at each other. Is it not a *miracle*, that the earth opened not its mouth to swallow them, even as it swallowed the sons of Korah? Nor was this all: whilst the rival priests were pelting each other in one place, Ananus was at the head of a ruffian band in another place. Saul and Costabor, because of their relationship to Agrippa, deemed themselves justified in having their gang of plundering ruffians, whilst Albinus himself, in virtue of his office, as Roman procurator, enriched himself by permitting many malefactors to purchase from him that freedom which they might in vain have hoped for from his mercy. With these ransomed convicts at large, and the eighteen thousand discharged labourers, who were employed during the building of the temple, Judea seemed to have had its inhabitants divided into two classes only, the plunderers and the plundered.

The recall of Albinus brought into Judea, if possible, a still greater fiend in the person of Gessius Florus. The cruelties and devastations of this man drove the Jews

to madness and despair; they preferred, as Josephus says, "to be destroyed at once, rather than by little and little." It was this demon who hurled our forefathers into a war with the Romans, which put an end to the Jewish NATION, The Jewish people still lives, for it is immortal.

And now war—war to the knife and to the innermost recesses of the heart—broke forth in its most hideous and horrifying form; in vain Agrippa advised and entreated the multitude to obey Florus, at least until Cæsar should appoint another in his stead; the wound was incurable, and the patient in despair tore off the useless bandage. Agrippa himself was insulted, and driven from the city by a people who plainly saw that there was no longer any hope of peace except in the grave. Eleazar, the governor of the temple, a rash and bold youth, persuaded the priests to receive no sacrifices from foreigners. In vain "the men of power" and the principal pharisees tried to dissuade the priests from their resolution; it was fated otherwise; the peaceable portion of the community sent ambassadors to Florus and Agrippa to come and put an end to the sedition whilst it was practicable. Florus was delighted with the message, but declined even a reply to the ambassadors. Agrippa, who felt for both the peace and the war party, sent three thousand horse to the assistance of those who wished to keep the peace. Agrippa's troops and the peace party possessed themselves of the upper city; Eleazar and the war party had the lower city and the temple in their power; and thus we behold the horrid sight of Jew fighting against Jew, brother against brother; for seven long days were they mercilessly shedding each other's blood, whilst their common enemy, the fierce Roman, beheld with pleasure the progress of their mutual devastation. The festival of wood-carrying brought a great accession in strength to the war

party in the lower classes and the zealots ; and the first fruit of this amalgamation was the destruction of the house of the high-priest, the palace of Agrippa, and the Archives. With the destruction of the latter, all the bonds of the debtors were destroyed. By this act they gained the additional strength of the debtors, whom they had thus relieved of their troublesome debts ; they next attacked the Antonia, slew the garrison, and set the citadel on fire ; they also attacked the palace whither Agrippa's soldiers had fled. In the meanwhile Manahem, the son of Judas the Galilean, suddenly appeared, and became captain of their forces. After undermining and setting on fire one tower, they found a second wall, which the besieged had built within ; eventually, however, Agrippa's troops capitulated, and were permitted to march out unmolested. The Roman portion of the garrison retreated to some towers built by Herod ; and many of them were slain by Manahem, who also plundered and set fire to their encampment. The success of Manahem roused the envy and jealousy of Eleazar, in whose favour the populace rose. Manahem was taken and put to death. Eleazar pressed the siege of the towers, and the Romans were constrained to demand terms. A treaty was made and ratified, and even sworn to ; but the Romans no sooner laid down their arms, than the base insurgents disgracefully broke their oath, and slew the Romans to a man, except their commander, Metilius, who meanly prayed for mercy, and, to save his paltry life, even underwent the operation of circumcision. Whilst the insurgents shouted aloud the exulting cries of their victory (or rather disgrace) before high heaven, even on the very sabbath day, in the self-same day and hour, the Greek inhabitants of Cæsarea suddenly and unexpectedly rose upon the Jews, and in one hour 20,000 Israelites fell to rise no more.

The Jews have often been known to prove faithful to their masters, and have even fought against their own brethren in defence of those they owed allegiance to. We have an instance of this in the attack of the Jews upon the domain of Scythopolis, where they found great resistance from the Jewish inhabitants, who were fighting in the ranks of the Syrians. The Scythopolitans, however, doubted their sincerity, and most treacherously put to death 13,000 Jews, who manfully fought in their behalf. One man out of the whole made himself remarkable, by preferring to die by his own hand rather than fall beneath the knives of the base Scythopolitans. He first slew his aged father and mother; his wife and children shared the same fate; then putting the bodies on a heap, he sprang upon them, stretched forth his hand, and buried his sword up to the hilt within his own bosom. The example of the Scythopolitans was followed by Askalon, Ptolemais, Tyre, Hippos, and many others. With an army of 10,000 Roman troops, and 13,000 allies under his command, Cestius Gallus appeared in Judea, in order to chastise the refractory Jews. The proud Roman went onward and onward, and the track he left behind was marked with misery and devastation. "On to Jerusalem!" exclaimed Cestius; and already in his imagination he counted the treasures of gold and silver which awaited his arrival in the holy city; already he beheld the captives at his feet, suing for that life he never intended to spare. Onward he marched, and suddenly the city of God seemed to emerge from the clouds, and the glittering rays of the sun sparkled like diamonds upon the magnificent temple of the Lord. Pleased and delighted, the calculating Roman rubs his hands together for joy. "Jerusalem lies prostrate, its treasures are mine!" But it was fated otherwise. Defeated

and disgraced, the dastardly Romans fled from a people they came to destroy ; they fled, and the shrill war-cry of the Jews sounded the funeral knell of six thousand heathens who mercilessly came to destroy, but were themselves doomed to perish. The news of the defeat of his forces under Cestius reached Nero. He dexterously concealed his terror and confusion, and assumed a tone of contempt for his rebellious province ; he, however, deemed it proper to appoint Vespasian, one of his cleverest generals, to chastise the troublesome Jews for their sedition. On the appearance of Vespasian at Ptolemais, he was met by a deputation from Sepphoris ; they were for peace with the Romans, and offered to assist them against their own brethren. They met with a courteous reception, and were sent home with a force of six thousand foot and one thousand horse, to defend them against any attack from the Jews.

Josephus made a vain effort to recover the metropolis of Galilee. He was repulsed, and the Romans vented their rage upon all Galilee, slaying the strong, selling the weak, and burning everything they could not appropriate to their own use. Titus also made his appearance soon after at Ptolemais, where, joining his forces with those of his father and his allies, the whole army amounted to sixty thousand. Placidus attacked Jotapata, but was repulsed ; the Romans fled ; many were wounded, though only seven were slain. Vespasian himself approached Gadara, which city he found without a garrison ; and Nero's greatest general valiantly put to death the young and the old ; not one man was saved ; the city itself and all the suburbs were burnt to the ground. The report of the approach of the Roman forces under Vespasian struck terror into the boldest hearts. The army of Josephus, which was encamped at Garris, deserted its leader, and the indignant chieftain,

with a few despairing but faithful troops, had reluctantly to fly to Tiberias. To Jotapata Vespasian next directed his march; and drew up the whole of his army on an eminence to the north of the city, in the hope of frightening the inhabitants into submission. But what hopes could they have from Roman mercy? Submission was only the exchange of one misery for another.

Josephus, who found means to throw himself into the city, watched every opportunity to annoy the enemy; and even ventured with the whole strength of his army to make a daring sally, and actually drove the Romans down the hill. The valour displayed by the besieged was worthy of the cause they defended; and Vespasian was at last induced to change the siege into a blockade, in order to starve the garrison into submission; but he soon got tired of the blockade, and again assaulted the city. Still the fertile invention of Josephus, and the glorious valour of the besieged, baffled the Romans in spite of their superior force and discipline.

In the meanwhile, Japha, after a brave defence, fell into the hands of the Romans, who were led by Titus and Trajan. The unfortunate inhabitants were all put to death, excepting the women and children, who were destined to be sold for slaves. At length, after a brilliant and glorious defence of forty-seven days, such as would have done honour to the bravest people on earth, the city of Jotapata fell into the hands of the Romans. A recreant scoundrel deserted to Vespasian, and disclosed to him the true state of the city. The great Roman commander deigned to be instructed by one of the meanest creatures on God's earth, a renegade, *how* to obtain the city; and Jotapata fell, because, among the myriads of Jewish warriors, there was found one traitor, who preferred an ignominious life to a glorious death.

Forty thousand brave Israelites fell during that memorable siege; a more valiant band our mother earth never received into her bleeding bosom. A pang of bitter, maddening disappointment pierces the heart, to think that Josephus, the very man who contributed so much to this glorious defence, should himself have been the only warrior who surrendered to the Romans, and thus entailed a suspicion on his name which must for ever cling to his memory. "The progress of this year's campaign," says Milman, "was not according to the usual career of the Roman arms; a powerful army had marched to subdue a rebellious and insignificant province; two months had nearly elapsed, and they were little beyond the frontier." The fall of Taricheæ added six thousand five hundred more to the slain victims of Roman barbarity. I have in vain sought, since the arrival of Vespasian and Titus on Jewish ground, for a single trait of magnanimity in the character of the general-in-chief, or in that of his son, "the delight of mankind." Brutality and ferocity, unenlivened with a single ray of true humanity, marks their career hitherto. Is there anything of a redeeming character in their future progress? We shall see. After the battle at Taricheæ, Vespasian sat in judgment over the strangers who had been separated from the inhabitants of the city. The great commander had pledged his faith, in the face of God and man, to these unfortunate captives, that their lives should be spared; and Josephus must have blushed to the temples, when he endeavoured to extenuate that black and horrid deed which entailed everlasting infamy on the name of Vespasian. A thousand and two hundred "old men, together with others who were useless," were slain; six thousand young men were sent to Nero, to dig in the bowels of the earth, and three thousand were sold for slaves. So much for



Roman justice, so much for Roman faith ! “ The greatest part of these were desperate ruffians,” says the Jewish apologist, who glories in the name of “ FLAVIUS.” The indignant Christian, Milman, exclaims, “ Had they been devils, it could not excuse the base treachery of Vespasian ! ”

Poor Galilee lay prostrate before the Roman vampires ; three cities alone still denied the Roman jurisdiction, Gamala, Gischala, and Itabyrium. Gamala had already suffered a siege of seven months from Agrippa’s force, when Vespasian appeared before the city : here, in spite of the vigilance and valour of the besieged, the Romans with their terrible engines, beat down some portions of the wall, and rushed into the city like so many wolves eager for blood and carnage ; but the valiant Israelites met them like men who fought for a righteous cause, and boldly beat them back ; the Romans were forced to flee to the upper part of the city, whereupon the dauntless people hurled them down to the lower part ; and as the heathens could neither beat those before them, nor escape from their own party who were pushing them forwards, their only resource was to take to the houses of the citizens. Crowded within and without, the tottering dwellings fell under the increased and overwhelming weight ; and the proud Romans lay biting the dust of that holy ground which they had deluged with so much human blood. Then the shouts of triumph were changed into the shrieks of despair ; the dead and the dying, the victor and his victim were mingled in one mass of blood-kneaded dust, and each and all cried aloud for vengeance in the madness of uncontrollable agony and rage, triumph and defeat. A dark and dreary day was that to Vespasian and his defeated troops ; the humbled Romans had to leave the city in despair. With disgust

and contempt we read the fulsome flattery of Josephus when he speaks of his patron Vespasian; and in spite of our obligation to his pen, we have not a grain of sympathy for his heart. At length, the last day of Gamala arrived. The Romans, headed by Titus, again entered the city. Rendered more cautious by their former defeat, and smarting beneath their conscious disgrace, they adopted every precautions measure to avoid a second defeat, and poor Gamala sank to rise no more. All the inhabitants were slain; the brutal Romans spared neither man, woman, nor child: two women alone escaped out of the whole population to tell the mournful tale. The inhabitants of Itabyrium surrendered, but not before they tried the fortune of war on the battle-field. Their great distress for want of water hastened their submission. The small city of Gischala was the last in Galilee which yet remained in arms. Before it Titus appeared; he sent to offer the citizens terms of capitulation. John, the son of Levi, who commanded the war party in the city, replied, that the garrison would readily accept the terms, but declined coming to any arrangement that day, it being the sabbath. Titus was outwitted by the cunning of John; he consented to a delay, and withdrew his troops to Cydocssa. At midnight John and all his armed force left the city for Jerusalem.

At this time, the metropolis of Judea was in a most frightful and desperate condition. The hostile factions kept it in a constant turmoil of civil commotion; robbers, and murderers, and ruffians of all descriptions formed themselves into a formidable band, and, under the ostensible pretence of defending the city against the Romans, they committed the most revolting acts of barbarity, so that the oppressed people almost began to look upon the Romans as saviours compared with the blood-hounds which infested

their city. The zealots took possession of the temple, and made it their garrison; they took upon themselves to elect a high-priest, and when they conferred that dignity upon an ignorant clown, they rejoiced in witnessing his awkwardness; he was a standing joke to them to amuse them in their idle hours. The poor, trodden-down people could not bear this insult to their God and to themselves. An assembly was summoned. Ananias addressed the people, and with tears in his eyes reproved them for permitting the Temple of the Lord to remain in the polluted hands of the assassins; the people loudly demanded to be led on to battle against their oppressors, and thus the city was torn with civil commotions, the pavement of the Temple was crimsoned with human gore. The appearance of John of Gischala at Jerusalem rendered matters still worse; this subtle man pretended outwardly to be of the party of Ananus and the people, whilst privately he betrayed all the consultations and precautionary measures to the zealots, and so far gained he the confidence of Ananus and his party, as to be appointed to the office of treating with the zealots. John executed the mission according to his own views, and the result was a despatch to the Idumeans, entreating their assistance. The Idumeans gladly accepted the invitation, and finally Jerusalem beheld within her already distracted bosom, the presence of 20,000 Idumeans, whose deeds of horrid barbarity are written in the blood of 12,000 Israelites. At length the Idumeans themselves repented of their horrid conduct; and, to the surprise of the whole city, departed homeward, having previously set at liberty 2,000 of the populace, who had been shut up in prison. The departure of the Idumeans rather increased than diminished the barbarity of the zealots. Alas! What a mercy it would have been, had the Almighty at once

visited this unfortunate city with the thunderbolt of his wrath, and, with one annihilating blow, ended its sufferings with its existence !

Spring, which in its flowery lap brings gladness to our teeming earth, and rouses the slothfulness of dormant nature into vigorous activity, filled the Roman besiegers with renewed zeal for carnage and glory. The new campaign commenced: Gadara opened its gates ; Jericho surrendered ; Lucius Aninus took Gerasa, slew a thousand youths, pillaged the city, and sent the remaining inhabitants into hapless slavery. Vespasian, who had hitherto watched with a delighted heart the suicidal destruction which was so actively mowing down the best strength of Jerusalem, now began to mature his plans for the attack of that ill-fated city, when suddenly the news reached his camp of Nero's death. Josephus had formerly foretold the elevation of Vespasian to the throne of the Cæsars, the fulfilment of that prophecy required both the will and the strength of an army, which he had ; Galba, Otho, and Vitellius rose and fell in rapid succession, and the whole empire at last called upon Vespasian to play the Caesar at Rome. By this expected event, Jerusalem gained a respite of nearly two years ; but, alas, the Heaven-doomed city gained nothing thereby. The subtilty of John of Gischala continued to pursue its unwearied track of fell ambition. With the zealots on one side and the Sicarii on the other, the helpless people were ground like corn between two millstones ; the cup of misery seemed now to have been filled to overflowing, and the agony of despair had almost reached that point beyond which human endurance ceases, when Simon, the son of Gioras, made his appearance on the blood-stained stage of Jerusalem. With an army of 40,000 men, he struck terror into the souls of the

zealots (who, having taken his wife captive, were at first inclined to flatter themselves that the fond husband would, for his wife's sake, lay down his arms); but Simon, like "a wild beast," came raging to the walls of Jerusalem; and venting his rage upon all on whom he could lay his hand, he tortured and destroyed his victims, and "was almost ready to taste the very flesh of their dead bodies." He gained his end; his wife was restored to him, and he departed. Shortly after, Simon again made his appearance before Jerusalem, and mercilessly put to the sword all that came across his path; and thus the unfortunate people, like a vessel on a tempestuous ocean, were cast from breaker to breaker. There was danger within and danger without, until death itself became a luxury often sought and obtained. In order to overthrow John and the zealots, the fatal resolution was adopted to admit Simon into the city: he immediately attacked the zealots in the Temple, and Jerusalem appeared like a 'gigantic madhouse, whose inmates, having overcome their keepers, were tearing each other to pieces in the fury of their madness. The Toparchies of Gophnitis and Acrabatena had already been reduced by Vespasian; Jerusalem, Machaerus, Herodium, and Masada still defied the Roman eagle. On the ascension of Vespasian to the throne of the Cæsars, Josephus reaped the advantage of his prophetic skill; he was no longer in bonds, "and was moreover esteemed a person of credit as to futurities also."

Whilst Jerusalem presented the horrid sight of civil commotion in its blackest and most hideous form, whilst the deepest and most heart-rending woe was planted in every patriotic breast, the wanton and brutal ruffians who incessantly attacked each other with hands reeking with human blood, wallowed in the mire of drunkenness and

debauchery; and the ample stores which might have saved Jerusalem for years from gaunt famine, were squandered and wasted and burnt amidst the savage shouting of demoniac revelry. In two points alone the three parties who had possession of the city concurred—the oppression of the people, and the hatred of the Romans. At length Titus appeared before Jerusalem; with 600 horsemen he went to take a view of the city. So long as he kept to the straight road which led to the city, all seemed peace and quietness, but when he left the road and turned towards the lower Psephinus, the gates near the ‘women’s towers’ were suddenly flung open, and multitudes of Jews threw themselves across the road. Titus found himself cut off, with but a few warriors, from the rest of his party; a thousand deaths seemed to threaten him on every side, but the fortunate Roman escaped unharmed. When the three chieftains within the city—Eleazar, John, and Simon, saw the actual presence of the Romans before Jerusalem, they agreed to suspend their mutual hostilities, and join hand and heart against the common enemy of their country. United, they rushed like tigers upon the tenth legion. Disorder and confusion seized the astonished Romans. A few moments longer would have brought defeat and disgrace upon the enemy, when Titus suddenly appeared on the flank of the Jews, and robbed them of the victory, but still the battle raged, and Jewish valour drove the Romans to flight. Titus again found himself cut off with only a few warriors by his side, and again he escaped uninjured. Seeing the danger of their commander, the whole legion, ashamed of its desertion, rallied again, and drove the Jews into the valley. Shortly after, whilst Titus went round the city with some horsemen, his friend Nicanor, and Josephus, approached near the wall of Jerusalem, and a dart, which

was probably intended for Josephus, wounded Nicanor on the shoulder; the indignant Titus ordered the suburbs to be set on fire, the poor harmless trees to be uprooted, and embankments to be thrown up against the city. In the meanwhile, though John remained within the city, his men valiantly sallied forth against the enemy. Simon, too, brought forth the engines of war which he took from Cestius, and used them, though unskilfully, against the Romans who were making the embankments; but the engines of the tenth legion were a terrible annoyance to the Jews. Stones of the weight of a talent were cast by them to the distance of "two furlongs and further." At first, the colour of these stones, which were white, enabled the Jewish watch to discern them and give timely warning of their approach; but the Romans frustrated this by blackening the stones, and the fatal engines sent death and destruction upon whole ranks of brave and patriotic Israelites; but still, animated with boundless love for their country, and quenchless hatred for their enemies, the Jews annoyed, harassed, and repelled the Romans night and day, and put every possible impediment in the way to hinder the progress of the works carried on by the indefatigable enemy. Upon the completion of the Roman works, the engines began the work of destruction, and the rams, at three different places, shook the very earth with their irresistible force. And now, as if animated by one soul, one object, and one desire, from out of an unperceived gate rushed forth zealots and Sicarii, priests and laymen, with flaming brands and torches; onward to the engines they rushed, and leaped upon the hurdles that covered the machines, and tore them to pieces and hurled their brands and flambeaux, and darts and arrows: like a shower of tempestuous fire, they seemed to fall from heaven upon the astounded Romans. And "the



Jews dare not fight," said a modern Christian; but the Jews *did* fight, and the proud Roman eagle was more than once seen to fly recreantly before Jewish valour, and but that it was the will of the Almighty that the strength of our race should be weakened by self-inflicted wounds, the proud Romans would never have lived to triumph over the fall of Jerusalem. The engines were in a blaze; the flames, like forked lightning, threatened destruction to friends and foes, and still the conflict raged, and human beings, like demons, seemed to hold their nightly revels round a blazing volcano. At last, the timely assistance of some Alexandrians saved the Romans from total defeat. Josephus records, that the valiant Titus himself killed twelve men; ONE Jew was taken prisoner, and HIM "the delight of mankind" ordered to be crucified, because he fought for his country like a man, therefore he must die like a beast! At last the Romans entered Bezetha, threw down a portion of the first wall, and immediately prepared for the attack of the second. The whole day was occupied with attacks and sallies; stratagems and counter-stratagems and all the arts of war were incessantly put into practice by both parties. The night itself was passed in sleepless watchfulness; and both hosts, cased in armour, stood dozing with their arms in their hands ready for use at a moment's warning. The indefatigable Simon now acquired a boundless influence among his warriors. His matchless valour erased the recollections of his former wrongs; at his command they were ready to undergo any danger, at his bidding they were ready to die. And now the great *helepolis* began the work of destruction against the central tower of the wall. Terror seemed to seize the besieged; one man named Castor, along with ten others, alone remained. Castor stretched out his hands in the attitude of supplica-

tion and submission, the Roman ordered the working of the battering-ram to cease. Castor called upon Titus, and appealed to his mercy. Here a fierce contention arose among the men of Castor, the object of which was to trifle with the enemy, whilst Simon made the most of his time. In the meanwhile, Castor was wounded with an arrow, and he indignantly held it up to Cæsar, as if he had been wrongly used. Titus wished Josephus to go and parley with his countryman ; but the Jewish historian was too fond of his life to go on such an errand, and a man named Æneas offered his services to go. Castor levelled a stone at his head, and the exasperated Titus ordered the engines to be set to work. Castor and his men set the tower in a blaze, and seeming to cast themselves into the fire, leaped into a hidden vault, which led into the city. On the fifth day, the second wall was lost, but the Romans were driven out and the wall retaken. For three days longer, the valiant Jews defended and kept possession of the second wall, but were at last obliged to retire, and again the second wall came into the possession of the Romans. And now Titus suspended for a while the siege, and reviewed his whole army, who were receiving their pay in view of the dejected city. For four days Titus waited in vain for offers of submission from the besieged ; and on the fifth he divided his legions and began to raise embankments, both at “ John’s monument ” and at the Tower of Antonia ; but the Jews had now become expert in the use of their engines, constant application had made them familiar with the working of them, and they became exceedingly troublesome to their enemies who were busy in raising the mounds. Titus himself, as Josephus informs us, “ did not omit to have the Jews exhorted to repentance ” (generous man !). He sent Josephus to speak to them in their own language. A more

unwelcome messenger Titus could not have picked out of his whole army. Josephus was looked upon as a renegade and as a hypocrite. His elaborate discourse was thrown away upon an ungrateful people ; he tells us, however, that the people had a great inclination to desert to the Romans. In the meanwhile, famine, the greatest and most potent ally the Romans had in this siege, began to undermine the safety of Jerusalem, and did more towards the subjugation of Jerusalem than all the scorpions, balistas, and battering-rams that could have been brought against its walls. Every consideration of right and justice was abandoned, private houses were forced open and the inmates robbed of their last morsel, the most horrid of cruelties, tortures, and deaths were inflicted upon those suspected of concealing food, every tie of natural affection was torn asunder, children plundered from their enfeebled parents, and mothers robbed their infants of the milk of their own breasts. Alas ! there were deeds of horror perpetrated which the most hypochondriac mind in its wildest fancy could never have imagined !

And now the great Titus did a deed of valour worthy of the "delight of mankind"; many of the poorest of the people, maddened with famine and despair, would, at the risk of their miserable lives, venture to steal forth at night and go into the valleys, to seek for some luxuriant blade of grass to prolong a life of excruciating misery ; it was for these that the valiant Titus sent a party of horsemen to lie in ambush, and the poor wretches were seized ; "they were first whipped, and then tormented with all sorts of tortures, and were then crucified before the walls of the city." O Eternal God of Heaven ! but that it were unmanly to curse the living or the dead, I could curse them in the bitterness of my soul, and beseech

thy unmitigated wrath for ever against that accursed host of fiends. Alas! my hand trembles, and my heart sickens within me, when I read that the brutal soldiers “nailed those they caught, one after one way and another after another, to the crosses by way of jest, when their multitude was so great, that room was wanting for crosses and crosses wanting for the bodies!” For seventeen days, the assiduous Romans were occupied with their works, and four great banks were raised, the engines were brought, and all was ready for the assault, when suddenly the ground shook and trembled, thick smoke and dust blinded the astounded Romans, flames burst forth from the bowels of the earth, and with one tremendous crash down came the engines and the embankments, and the seventeen days of hard labour were thus swallowed up by the ingenuity of John, who had undermined the whole and set it on fire. Shortly after the enemy had the mortification to behold the *helepolis* set on fire by the Jews; eager to extinguish the fire, the Romans had to encounter the undaunted Jews, who clung to the engines, though the iron was red hot. Surrounded with flames and men whose souls seemed to be on fire in a righteous cause, the Romans fled to their camp, the Jews eagerly after them sprang upon their trenches, and dealt death and destruction to the Roman guards. At this juncture of despair, Titus called a council of war; three plans were submitted:—1. An instant assault upon the city. 2. To raise the mounds again, repair the engines, and once more assault the city. 3. To blockade the city, and leave it to fall a prey to famine. The last plan was adopted. The effects of the famine can more easily be imagined than described, death became as familiar to the besieged as the stones they trod upon, and many, in their last agonies of despair, laid themselves down exhausted, and

fixed their dying gaze upon the holy Temple, a few moments hence to be cast over the walls to feast the sight of the Romans; and Titus beheld all this, and lifted up his hands to Heaven, and called God to witness that it was not his work! Oh, that the Almighty had answered the tyrant with a thunder-bolt, or hurled him and his host to his native Rome! The crimes of our race justify not the Roman barbarities. Will posterity believe it (and yet it cannot be denied), that two thousand living human beings had their bodies ripped open in one night, to have their intestines searched for gold by these heroic Romans and their allies! "The delight of mankind," indeed, felt indignant AFTER the horrid barbarity had been committed; and the result was, that that which was before done publicly, was afterwards practised secretly. In the meanwhile, the Romans repaired their engines, the *helepolis* advanced to the wall, the engines again began their works of destruction: the assailants succeeded, after working assiduously at the foundation in the removing of four large stones, and the Romans once more began to hope for success. In the middle of the night a tremendous crash was heard, the wall fell down spontaneously, for it stood over that part which, on a former occasion, was undermined by John to destroy the engines of the enemy; but the joy of the Romans was considerably diminished, when, upon rushing to the breach, they found another wall to impede their progress. John foresaw the possibility of such a misfortune, and he had another wall ready for the emergency.

Whilst Titus was addressing and encouraging his army, a Syrian soldier advanced and volunteered to lead on a forlorn hope, eleven men followed him amidst a shower of darts, arrows, and stones, which kept whirling around their heads; the bold Syrian still kept advancing, but he

no sooner reached the top of the wall than his foot slipped, and he fell; the Jews, who a short time before were terrified at this man's boldness, now turned upon him, and the brave man gloriously sank covered with innumerable wounds. Two days hence, a very small band of daring soldiers silently crept through the ruins to the tower of Antonia, slew the guards, and ordered the trumpet to be sounded. Titus lost no time, and scaled the Antonia; the terrified Jews were flying to the Temple, but fell into the mines formerly dug by John; a fierce and terrible battle ensued, Simon and John manfully defended the entrance to the Temple, and after ten hours of destructive slaughter on both sides, Titus was forced to recall his men, and for the present content himself with the Antonia. Here another hero appeared from the army of Titus, and single-handed committed dreadful carnage among the Jews, as he forced his way up to a corner of the inner court of the Temple; but he shared the fate of the brave Syrian, he died, but not till his limbs were absolutely hewn from his body, his breast-plate stood between him and an easier death.

And now the would-be magnanimous Titus sent Josephus to John, to offer him free egress for himself and as many of his men as he would choose to bring, in order that they might fight their battles without defiling the Temple of God, and that the sacrifices which were now discontinued might again be resumed. Generous man! What an equal encounter there would have been on the battle-field between the exhausted, starved, and hunger-bitten warriors of John, and the well-fed, well clad, and well-disciplined soldiers of Titus! The exasperated Jewish warrior heaped curses on the head of Josephus as a traitorous renegade, and exclaimed that he was in no fear for Jerusalem, it being the city of God. Once more Josephus tried to persuade the people, if

not to surrender, at least to spare the Temple from defilement and inevitable destruction; but it was all in vain, they either thought or pretended to think, that Titus was induced to make these offers out of fear; and the Roman general, seeing no likelihood of a capitulation, determined to make a night assault. About the ninth hour of that night the battle began. To the disappointment of the Romans, the guards of the Temple were not found asleep, as they expected; hand to hand the guards manfully defended themselves, and when they were heard by those within the Temple, they rushed forth in troops upon their assailants. In the darkness of the night, amidst the confusion of voices, friends and foes were mingled in one undistinguishable mass; for eight hours the battle raged in the presence of Titus, who sat watching the conflict from the tower of Antonia; the battle ceased, the Romans gained nothing. In the meanwhile, the enemy overthrew some portions of the Antonia, a broad way was made to the Temple, whereby they could bring the engines to play upon that sacred edifice. The Jews did all that brave men could do against such an enemy, and in such a cause. Determined to risk everything in the defence of the Temple, the Jews set on fire the portico which led from the Antonia to the Temple, and the Romans set fire to the cloister and burnt fifteen cubits more; the tower of Antonia was thus completely separated from the Temple. But all the misery brought upon the Jews, either by Roman valour or Roman engines, was as nothing, compared to the horrible effects of the famine which raged in the city. The horrid fact that a woman cooked and ate part of her own child, and reserved the rest for the ruffians who were in the habit of robbing and insulting her, stands recorded in effaceable characters, and so are the agonising words which she addressed to the



horrified spectators. On the eighth of Ab, Titus commanded the battering rams to be set against the western edifice of the inner Temple; for six days previously, the most powerful engines had battered the wall without making the least impression; the endeavours to undermine the foundation of the northern gate proved equally unavailing. Despairing of success from all such attempts, they brought the scaling ladders to storm the cloisters. The Jews did not hinder their ascent; but the moment they reached the top, they flung them down headlong; others they slew. Some of the ladders, crowded with armed men, they hurled down, and dashed their assailants to atoms. Titus now saw his eagles in the hands of the Jews, and his men slain and defeated; he ordered the gates of the temple to be set on fire. The sight of the fire, which rapidly spread in all directions, rendered the unfortunate Jews completely helpless,—motionless, like so many statues, they gazed with immoveable eye-balls upon the flames, not a hand was lifted, not a limb stirred, no effort was made to stem the progress of the conflagration; for a whole night and day the fire continued to destroy the cloisters. In the meanwhile, a council of war was held; the subject of discussion being, whether the Temple should be saved or destroyed. Three of the council were for its destruction; the remaining three, of which side Titus was, were for its preservation. The result was, the soldiers were ordered to extinguish the fire. Struck with terror and confusion, the Jews remained inactive, the first day after the fire commenced; on the day following, they rushed through the east gate, upon those that guarded the outward court of the Temple; the guards received the attack bravely; but the Jews fought with an impetuosity that convinced Titus that there was no time to be lost. He hastened therefore

himself, at the head of some cavalry, and forced the valiant Israelites to shut themselves up in the Temple. The blackest day in the Jewish calendar at last arrived. The besieged, in spite of their repulse in the morning, again sallied forth against those who were employed in extinguishing the fire; the Romans repulsed them, and forced their way as far as the door of the Temple. At this moment, a soldier snatched a blazing brand, and being mounted upon the shoulders of his comrade, he threw it through a small golden window, and soon after the Temple of God was wrapped in devouring flames. It was the funeral pile of a fallen race. Near a million and a half of human beings paid, with their lives, the penalty of refusing to bear a foreign yoke; 100,000 more were doomed to a most cruel and abject captivity; whilst the great Titus (who, when he missed one day doing a good action, exclaimed, "I have lost a day"), even he, went to share with his father a triumph purchased with an ocean of human blood.

And his triumph was great: gold and silver and glittering jewels, and mimic representations of destroyed nations and wasted lands, of wild beasts gnawing the bones of human captives, and gladiators tearing the entrails of their fellow-men. And there were the spoils of the Jewish temple,—the golden table, the seven-branched candlestick; and the scroll of the Mosaic law too was there, to attest the fulfilment of its own predictions. Proud Rome rejoiced and yelled with delight when the brave Simon (a braver man Rome never saw) was led to execution; but thy day will come, nay, it HAS come, cruel, cruel mistress of an enslaved world; and thou thyself must feel the scourge of an offended Deity. But whilst Jerusalem can boast of a noble, manly, and almost superhuman defence and fall, thy fate stands recorded as base, mean, and contemptible. In

less than four hundred years after this triumph of Titus, the Vandals were in Rome ; and the holy vessels plundered from Jerusalem were transferred from Rome to Carthage<sup>6</sup> by a barbarian much more gentle than “the delight of mankind.”

What would the great Titus have thought, could he have read the book of fate, and compared the defence of Jerusalem with the first siege of Rome by the Goths, in 408 ! Could he have foreseen the more than womanly cowardice of his countrymen, the famine, when, by God’s retribution, women (as in Jerusalem) fed upon their own infants, the sickness and the plague ; and, above all, could he have foreseen the degenerate and contemptible Romans send their ambassadors to Alaric, to PURCHASE his withdrawal from the MISTRESS of the world ; methinks he would have rather wished himself a circumcised Jew, who knows how to *die* for his country, than a Roman plenipotentiary, bargaining for the safety of Rome ; “and pay for its ransom *all* the Roman gold and silver, *all* the rich and precious moveables, and *all* the slaves who could prove their title to the name of BARBARIANS.”<sup>7</sup>

Poor Judea was now a desert. Its trees, for miles round every besieged city, were uprooted ; its fields and orchards and vineyards changed into one wide bleak wilderness ; its fenced cities and fortresses razed to the ground ; “the princess among the provinces,” a heap of ruins ; the foundation of God’s Temple ploughed up ; all the land set up for sale ; and its helpless inhabitants either dead or in slavery. To an ordinary observer, the state of the Jews at that time must have appeared like that of a dying man in the

<sup>6</sup> Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire. By Edward Gibbon. vol. iii., chap. xxxvi., p. 291. Milman’s Edition.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid. vol. iii., chap. xxxi., p. 121.

very last stage of consumption. Could it for a moment have been supposed, that an almost annihilated people, whose aged and infirm were slain as useless, whose youthful warriors were destroyed as dangerous, and whose living remnant were mostly from the slave market, scattered to all quarters of the globe, could ever again hold its head up in the land of the living ! And yet it is a truth undeniable, that not long after their universal calamity, they again made their appearance under two distinct communities, the head of each assuming a power and importance almost regal. In the one we behold "The Patriarch of the West ;" in the other, "The Prince of the Captivity."<sup>8</sup> And stranger still, could it for a moment be imagined, that this very remnant, who must have heard with their own ears, and seen with their own eyes, the total overthrow of their country and the entire destruction of their Temple, could now devote their whole attention, their whole body, mind, and soul, to the study of those laws, the greatest portion of which pertain to a country of which they are bereft, to sacrifices for which they have no altars—to tithes for which they have no officiating priests, and to first-fruits for which they had, alas ! neither orchards, nor trees, nor soil. But so it was, the successful study of the law became a patent of nobility. A scrupulous observance of its doctrines was the surest and safest road to honour and distinction. Wealth without learning was looked upon with contempt ; learning without wealth, as a sure criterion of disinterested piety. Schools and colleges sprang up in abundance, and Gamaliels, with hundreds and thousands of disciples at their feet, were seen to expound the law to ravished ears. A new field was thus, all of a

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<sup>8</sup> I regret exceedingly, that owing to the circumscribed limit of this Essay, I must omit all further allusion to these two important personages and their successors.

sudden, opened for every one for honourable emulation. It was open to all, without distinction of birth or wealth ; the poorest day labourer, who earned his bread by water-carrying, might aspire, by intense study and perseverance, to that more than princely title, “תלמיד חכם;” he might become a Rabbi of distinction, in an age when idolatry had ceased, and RABBINOLATRY became almost a passion.

The accession of Hadrian to the throne of the Cæsars, roused the Israelites from their literary reveries. An impending calamity, the greatest and the most unendurable that can befall a Jew, was gradually lowering over their heads, and threatened to crush beneath its ponderous weight their dearest hopes—their religion. An imperial edict was issued, prohibiting the reading of the law, the observance of the Sabbath, and the practice of circumcision. A Roman colony was to be established at Jerusalem, and on the spot whereon stood the glorious house of God, a heathen temple dedicated to Jupiter must rear its proud head. Dismay and consternation were depicted upon every brow : silent misery and deep-felt woe gnawed every heart. One man alone was seen in the whole community, who disdained to brood in silence over a nation’s wrongs, and sigh away his precious hours in sackcloth and ashes. Urged on by ambition or patriotism, he boldly seized this moment of national despair, to revive among his co-religionists the unextinguishable hope of a speedy restoration through an all-powerful Messiah ; his name, or rather his self-imposed title, which was “Barcohab,” that is, “the son of a star,” favoured his pretensions that he was the “star” alluded to by Balaam in his prophecy, that “a star shall arise out of Jacob.” That he was a man of skill, agreeable manners, and profound learning, is evident from the fact, that the celebrated Rabbi Akiba himself openly

acknowledged him as the true Messiah, and eagerly accepted the high honour of serving as standard-bearer to so high and mighty a personage. In the public assembly, he preached to the people, and pointed out to them the very name whereby he had been designated in an ancient prophecy. "Akiba," exclaimed the sceptical Rabbi Jochanan, "the grass will spring from thy jaw-bone, and yet the son of David will not have come!"

Supported by the authority of such a man as Akiba, the daring Barcohab soon saw himself surrounded with the bravest and noblest Jewish youths. When Rufus brought his forces into Judea, he flattered himself with the hope of speedily quelling the rebellion, but being disappointed in his expectations, he endeavoured to seize the ring-leaders, in order to terrify the multitude by the severity of their punishment. R. Akiba fell into his hands, but R. Gamaliel escaped through the assistance of a Roman; what became of R. Eleazar, the son of Asaria, nothing is known; but the exasperated Jews were not to be frightened. "Victory or death," says Jost, "was now the sole aim of their endeavours." In the meanwhile, the Jews acquired most of the strongholds and caves, and subterraneous passages. With an army of nearly 200,000 men, with a title the sublimest on earth, and with the countenance and support of the greatest rabbinical luminary of the age, Barcohab found means to make himself master of Jerusalem, and openly assumed the title of king; and it has even been asserted that he issued coins, bearing his name, and the year of the freedom of Jerusalem.

Turnus Rufus contented himself with venting his rage upon all the weak and defenceless victims he could lay his hands upon; but as for quelling the "sedition," he must have done little or nothing towards that, since we are told, that,

when Julius Severus reached Judea, he found the Jews in possession of 985 villages, and fifty castles; this great general deemed it more prudent to starve the Jews into submission than run the risk of defeat. It has been conjectured, that the Romans must have suffered considerable losses in Judea, since on one occasion Hadrian omitted the customary form in his despatches to the senate, "with myself and the army all is well." Be this as it may, one thing however is certain, that the prudent Severus gradually brought the war to an end, and the unfortunate "Son of a Star" was indignantly called, "the Son of a Lie."

Deeply mortified and disappointed in their expectations from this supposed Messiah, the Jews naturally ever after looked upon Barcohab with the bitterest hatred and abhorrence; he fell whilst fighting bravely during the siege of Bither, and though his memory is branded as an impostor, and his name is looked upon with derision and contempt, yet success would have made him a hero, as the want thereof would have kept Mohammed a camel-driver. Poor Akiba died a glorious martyr. According to the Talmud he had his flesh torn from his bones with iron combs; and his last words were: "Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God is ONE God!" He laid a prolonged emphasis on the word "ONE;" and the emphatic soul of Akiba went to repeat the sentence in the Heaven of Heavens.

The number of the slain in this war has been variously estimated; according to the lowest calculation, 580,000<sup>12</sup> perished in the vain attempt to throw off the Roman yoke.

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<sup>12</sup> This destructive war, which (as Rabbi Schwartz tells us) is called in the Talmud פלגוש האחרון, "the last war," is said to have been even more wasting and calamitous than the war under Titus. We are gravely told that near Bither, the dead lay for years unburied, in a stretch of thirteen and a half English miles, because the Emperor Hadrian would not permit the slain to be buried. Vide Schwartz's Palestine, p. 336.



Hadrian was now more than ever anxious to destroy every vestige of Judaism from Jerusalem; he colonised the ruined city with foreigners, changed its very name into *Ælia Capitolina*, and the poor Jews were prohibited from entering the city on pain of death.

The Jewish nation was now like a disowned and disinherited child cast upon the wide world, to go anywhere and everywhere, the paternal home alone being prohibited. Scattered and dispersed throughout the wide world as captives or merchants, artizans or mechanics, adventurers or impostors, they still cling together in those indissoluble ties, their religion, their language, and their sympathy.

As when the ingenious dramatist, who in the short space of two hours attempts to delineate the events of years, is often forced to suppose between the acts a lapse of several years, and an indulgent audience is content to let a score of years pass away in half as many minutes, even thus am I forced to drop the curtain, and solicit the gentle reader to take a nap until the precise moment when the "Great" Constantine saw with his own eyes the luminous trophy of the cross in the sky above the meridian sun, bearing the singular inscription: "By this conquer." Now this wonderful sight, which was witnessed by Constantine's whole army, and was further confirmed by a dream seen by Constantine the next night, has been the forerunner of one of the greatest revolutions this world ever witnessed, and which directly and indirectly has had a most powerful influence upon the future prospects of our race.

It appears upon the authority of Christian historians, that Jesus the son of Mary appeared to Constantine in a dream, and displayed before him the sign of the cross, and ordered him to make a similar one, and with it to march against Maxentius, and the victory would be his. The victory

was his, and he became a Christian. This important event dragged Christianity from comparative obscurity, and placed it upon a throne to become the mistress of the world; hitherto the Jewish and Christian religions had been somewhat on a par, sharing alike, often, tolerance and persecution, and were not unfrequently confounded as one and the same creed, by their Pagan masters.

The natural dislike which was gradually engendered between the professors of the two creeds may be briefly thus accounted for:—

On the part of the Jews, 1. Because Christianity denied them that proud and distinguished honour of being *for ever* the only chosen and peculiar people of God. 2. Because the Christian doctrine undermined the very foundation of Judaism by instituting a *Trinity* in place of a *UNITY*. 3. And finally, because, from all the glorious, patriotic, and gigantic efforts made by the Jews against their Roman oppressors, the Christians kept entirely aloof, leaving the Jews to struggle and perish in a righteous cause whilst they themselves fled for safety where best they could. This conduct has been palliated, because Jesus foretold the destruction of Jerusalem. Methinks, in such a cause, the meek and peaceful Jesus himself might have hurled a lance against the enemies of his race!

On the part of the Christians: 1. Because of the cruel death of Jesus, though according to the dying testimony of that personage “they knew not what they did.” 2. Because they found the Jews the most stubborn and stiff-necked race on the face of the earth, anywhere and everywhere they found Gentiles whom they could coax into a belief in their doctrines. The Jews alone, not only (with few exceptions) would not become proselytes, but

they would not even look upon them with the same respect as on Pagans, since they considered (the earliest Christians at least) as apostates and renegades from the true creed. 3. Because they *FELT* the deep obligation, that Christianity lies under to Judaism, they felt that their Saviour was a Jew, that his apostles were Jews, that the greatest portion of his doctrines were Jewish, that his language, parables,<sup>13</sup> and moral precepts were sucked from the milk of a Jewish breast ; they *felt* all this, and yet they saw the Jew obstinately refuse all affinity with them ; they would be brothers with the Jew in heaven as on earth, but the Israelite spurned the alliance and the offence was *unpardonable*.

The destruction of Jerusalem cast upon the wide world two religions, and at first sight it might appear somewhat humiliating to the Jew to observe that whilst Christianity continued to increase and multiply, spreading its wings upon the wide world, and exercising its important influence upon mighty kingdoms and empires, Judaism still remained in comparative insignificance, constantly beneath the yoke of persecution and degradation, whilst the numbers of its professors remained stationary, and perhaps never at the most exceeding ten millions. A just and impartial observer will, however, soon convince himself that this difference in the worldly prospects of the two creeds arises not from the superior *merit* of one creed above the other, but from the peculiar difference in the doctrines they inculcate.

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<sup>13</sup> The Rev. John Harris, the talented author of "The Great Teacher," says somewhere in his book: "An acquaintance with the origin of some of his (Christ's) parables, his prayers and many of his most familiar sayings, will shew that he often condescended to adopt the beauties of the Talmud which were then floating on the lips of the wise."

Christianity encourages, seeks, and entreats proselytism, Judaism avoids, retards, and objects to it; Christianity imposes upon its professors no difficult, rigorous, and expensive religious duties and ceremonies, Judaism abounds with them. Christianity throws no impediment in the way of mutual enjoyment, and participation of worldly pleasure, between its professors and those of another creed, Judaism prefers, and in some instances even commands, exclusiveness; taking these things into consideration, it at once becomes evident why Christianity has outstripped Judaism in numbers and popularity, it is in fact, a much easier task to be a good and strict Christian than it is to be a good and strict Jew; hence in a worldly point of view Christianity has ever triumphed over Judaism. The emperor Constantine endowed it with the additional advantage of temporal power, and from that epoch Christianity joined the power to the will of annoying and persecuting a race which it cannot conquer either with kindness or cruelty.

Constantine proved himself an excellent converter as well as a convert. We read that in one year 12,000 men were baptised at Rome, besides many women and children,—the generous monarch gratefully promised each convert a white garment and twenty pieces of gold.<sup>14</sup> The “Great” Constantine farther shewed his zeal in behalf of his creed by persecuting the *Deicide* Jews with the greatest rigour, he prohibited their having Christian slaves, obliged them to enter the military service of the state, to contribute their share to the public services, and to crown the whole forced many of them to feed upon swine’s flesh, the penalty

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<sup>14</sup> Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, vol. 2, c. xx. p. 167.

of refusal being DEATH.<sup>15</sup> The example of the "Great" Constantine was followed by his son, Constantius, who most probably thought he conferred a lasting obligation on heaven, by chastising the stiff-necked and rebellious Jews : he revived every harsh edict against them, and prohibited them from marrying Christian wives on pain of death, to have a Christian servant in the house was equally punishable with death.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>15</sup> The Rise, Fall, and Future Restoration of the Jews, p. 19.—London, 1806.

<sup>16</sup> The character of Constantine is given by Voltaire in the following words —“ Demandez-le à Julien, à Zozime, à Sozomène, à Victor, ils vous diront qu'il agit d'abord en grand prince, ensuite en voleur public, et que la dernière partie de sa vie fut d'un voluptueux, d'un efféminé et d'un prodigue. Ils le peindront toujours ambitieux, cruel et sanguinaire. Demandez-le à Eusèbe, à Grégoire de Nazianza, à Lactance ; ils vous diront que c'était un homme parfait. Entre ces deux extrêmes il n'y a que les faits avérés qui puissent vous faire trouver la vérité. Il avait un beau-père, il l'obligea de se pendre ; il avait un beau-frère, il le fit étrangler ; il avait un neveu de douze à treize ans, il le fit égorger ; il avait un fils aîné, il lui fit couper la tête ; il avait une femme, il la fit étouffer dans un bain. Un vieil auteur gaulois dit *qu'il aimait à faire maison nette.*” i.e. Ask (his character) of Julian, of Zozimus, of Sozomen, and of Victor, they will tell you that at first he acted like a great prince, afterwards like a public robber, and that the latter part of his life was that of a sensualist, voluptuary and a prodigal ; they will delineate him as always ambitious, cruel, and sanguinary. Ask (his character) of Eusebius, of Gregory de Nazianzen and of Lactantius they will tell you that he was a perfect man. Between these two extremes, none but authentic facts can enable you to find out the truth. He had a father-in-law, whom he obliged to hang himself ; he had a brother-in-law whom he caused to be strangled ; he had a nephew, twelve or thirteen years of age, whose throat he ordered to be cut ; he had an eldest son, whom he got beheaded ; he had a wife, he caused her to be suffocated in a bath. An old Gallic author says that he *loved to*

Christianity seemed now firmly seated at the head of the Roman empire; and the professors thereof made the most of their power and influence to heap upon Jews and Pagans those cruelties and oppressions which, in the days of their adversity, they deemed so unjust and so intolerant. But in the midst of their triumph and success, they were suddenly seized with horror and consternation when the emperor Julian openly abandoned the Christian faith, and unblushingly relapsed into the Paganism of his forefathers; and how great must have been their horror and dismay when they heard the news confirmed, that the rebellious city of Jerusalem was again to be rebuilt, and that the holy temple, the foundations whereof had been long ago razed, were again to be re-erected for the revival of the Jewish religion and polity! And then, how mortifying it must have been to these newly fledged Roman saints to see the vagabond outcast Jews treated with so much humanity and generosity by the royal infidel—the nephew of their own “Great” Constantine! But Julian heeded not their bitter disappointment. In a public epistle addressed to his “brother the Patriarch” and to the Jewish community, he expressed his sympathy with their misfortunes, he condemned the cruelty of their oppressors and complimented them for their constancy, he promised them his protection, and expressed a hope that on his return from the Persian war he would be permitted to shew his gratitude to God in his own city of Jerusalem. Gibbon, who never loses an opportunity to vent his spleen against the Jews, remarks, “The blind

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*make a clear house.*—*Dictionnaire Philosophique*, tom. troisieme. Such is the character of the first Christian emperor as shewn by Voltaire; but the reader is well aware that Voltaire was never at a loss when he wished to turn white into black.

superstition and abject slavery of those unfortunate exiles, must excite the contempt of a philosophic emperor; *but they deserved the friendship of Julian*, by their implacable hatred of the Christian name. The barren Synagogue abhorred and envied the fecundity of the rebellious church; the power of the Jews was not equal to their malice; but the gravest Rabbis approved the private murder of an apostate; and their seditious clamours had often awakened the indolence of the Pagan magistrate."

Such are the merits of the Jews according to Gibbon, whereby they DESERVED the friendship of Julian! Upon the same ground, how highly deserving of the friendship of Julian would Gibbon himself have been, had he lived in those happy days? Perhaps it is from the same arguments that Gibbon deduces his assertion that,<sup>17</sup> "Julian was a lover of his country, and DESERVED the empire of the world."

The emperor Julian entrusted to his friend Alypius the execution of his plan relative to the restoration of Judaism, whilst he himself advanced with his army towards the East. Once more a dawn of heavenly light seemed to shine upon the Jewish race, and a promissory hope of better days filled every breast with rapturous gladness; if to die in the land of their fathers was to the Jews joy unbounded, how much more thrilling must have been the delightful anticipation of being permitted to live and breathe amidst the sweet groves of their own dear native Palestine! And then to witness, with their own eyes, the revived glory of God's sanctuary! To have the tears of joy roll over and wash away the tears of woe! From all parts of the world the Jews crowded to the holy city. The miser forgot his avarice, the creditor his bonds,

<sup>17</sup> Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, vol. 2, c. xxiv. p. 366.



the student flung his books aside ; and the agriculturalist seized his spade ; joyful women stripped off their costly jewels, and cast them into the treasury ; and even young children learned to hand over their little savings to the labourers in “ the vineyard of the Lord ;” delicate hands of snow-white purity were busy amidst the dust of ancient ruins, and old men, with trembling hands and tottering knees, laboured with pious zeal amidst the crumbling stones of bygone days.

Already was the work begun, and prosperity seemed to smile beneficently upon their holy endeavours, when suddenly an earthquake and a whirlwind, accompanied with tremendous explosions, terrified the horrified labourers ; and, as each flash of fire burst from the bowels of the earth, the trembling workmen hid their eyes with their hands and fled for their lives. The triumph of the Christians was now complete. Not only were the hated Jews baffled in their attempt—not only did a Divine Providence openly evince its displeasure against the restoration of Jerusalem—but their great enemy Julian himself was signally defeated ! What a wonderful age of miracles that must have been ! The apostate Julian is said to have dipped his hands in his own blood, and casting some of it towards heaven, exclaimed, “ Galilean, thou hast prevailed !” Such were his dying words. Voltaire has the impudence to disbelieve it ! Gibbon gives us the last oration delivered by the emperor himself, previous to his death, wherein nothing is said about the “ Galilean,” nor indeed anything else that savours of remorse or a guilty conscience. “ I have learned from religion,” said the dying emperor, “ that an early death has often been the reward of piety ; and I accept, as a favour of the gods, the mortal stroke that secures me from the danger of disgracing a

character which has hitherto been supported by virtue and fortitude. I die without remorse, as I have lived without guilt.”<sup>18</sup>

The Christians rejoiced<sup>19</sup> at the discomfiture of the Jews,

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<sup>18</sup> Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, vol. 2, c. xxiv. p. 167.

<sup>19</sup> The Christians rejoiced, because the poor Jews were frustrated in their attempt to rebuild their ruined temple. The day of retribution came slowly but surely. In the year 637, Omar, the second caliph after Mohammed took Jerusalem, and the humbled Christians had to subscribe to the following articles.—“1. The Christians shall build no new churches, either in the city or the adjacent territory. 2. They shall not refuse the Mussulmans entrance into their churches, either by night or day. 3. They should set open the doors of them to all passengers and travellers. 4. If any Mussulman should be upon a journey they shall be obliged to entertain him gratis for the space of three days. 5. They should not teach their children the Koran, nor talk openly of their religion, nor persuade any one to be of it; neither should they hinder any of their relations from becoming Mohammedans if they had an inclination to it. 6. They shall pay respect to the Mussulmans, and if they were sitting rise up to them. 7. They should not go like the Mussulmans in their dress, nor wear the same caps, shoes, nor turbans, nor part their hair as they do, nor speak after the same manner, nor be called by the names used by the Mussulmans. 8. They shall not ride upon saddles, nor bear any sort of arms, nor use the Arabic tongue in the inscriptions of their seals. 9. They shall not sell any wine. 10. They shall be obliged to keep to the same sort of habit wheresoever they went, and always wear girdles upon their waists. 11. They shall set no crosses upon their churches, nor shew their crosses nor their books openly in the streets of the Mussulmans. 12. They shall not ring, but only toll their bells; nor shall they take any servant who had once belonged to the Mussulmans. 13. They shall not overlook the Mussulmans in their houses. And some say, that Omar commanded the inhabitants of Jerusalem to have the fore-parts of their heads shaved, and obliged them to ride upon their pannels sideways, and not like the Mussulmans.” (*Vide Ockley's History of the Saracens*, p. 211). The subsequent treatment the Jews received from the meek followers of Jesus, proves what apt *pupils* the Nazarenes were in their school of adversity.

and their churches resounded with the deep-toned "hallelujahs" because the foundations of God's temple remained unruined. Little did they dream, at that time, that on the very spot whereon they fondly viewed the ruined hopes of our race, a Mohammedan mosque would for ages stand triumphant, from whose precincts the "proud Christians themselves would be driven, even as they have driven the poor Jews without justice or mercy.

The death of Julian raised Jovian, who was only "the first of the domestics" to the throne of the Cæsars. He lived long enough to conclude a peace with the victorious Sapor, so disgraceful to Rome, that it became "justly considered as a memorable era in the decline and fall of the Roman Empire." Jovian, as became a good Christian, displayed the banner of the cross (the very "Labarum" which Constantine made after seeing it in a dream), as he marched from Nisbis to Antioch. He undid all that Julian did in favour of the Pagans and the Jews, then went to bed drunk, and was found dead the next morning. The morning after few beings in this world troubled themselves to know whether such a man as Jovian ever existed.

Valentinian succeeded. In his reign the Jews were treated with moderation, though they did not succeed in their wishes to get exemption from public service. The Jew, it must be observed, never objects to serve his country in any way that lies in his power. The desire of keeping his Sabbath holy alone deters him from entering freely into the military service of the State. The brief reign of Maximus is rendered remarkable in Jewish history, from the fact that the lawless destruction of a synagogue in Rome was ordered to be repaired at the cost of the State. This was a sore grief to the tender conscience of the Christians. The Emperor Theodosius, under

similar circumstances, was also inclined to do justice to our race. The monks of Callinicum, in the fury of their fanaticism, burnt a synagogue, their bishop, who was the chief instigator in the matter, was condemned by the magistrate to rebuild it; and the Emperor confirmed the sentence: but Ambrose, the Archbishop of Milan, felt indignant at it, and he wrote an epistle to the emperor, in terms of reproach and censure. He charged him with tolerating the Jews, which he considered persecuting the Christians; he defined the term synagogue as “a temple of ungodliness, built from the plunder of the Christians;” and assured him that the execution of such a sentence would prove fatal to the salvation of his soul. Not content with the epistle alone, he even preached against the sentence from the pulpit, and publicly admonished the Emperor on his throne, until he obtained from Theodosius a promise of annulling the obnoxious sentence.<sup>20</sup> The Emperor, however, when freed from the influence of the archbishop, did justice to the Jews. He issued an edict in their favour, granting them complete tolerance. He also empowered the Jewish patriarch to inflict punishment upon any of the refractory members of the community.

About this period we are informed of some Jewish vagabonds who carried on a considerable traffic by yielding to baptism on “reasonable terms.” And no sooner did they get the “thirty pieces of silver” in one place, than they presented themselves at another for a similar sale; and thus they sold their precious souls to the Church many times over. A miracle, however, put a stop to all this. When a once baptized Jew presented himself to be baptized a second time, the waters flowed from him, they

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<sup>20</sup> Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, vol. 2, c. xxvii., p. 547.

would have nothing to do with the rogue. Would to Heaven that this miracle had continued to our days! We are informed, that at Rome it is absolutely necessary for the credit of the Church to have at least one Jewish convert each year;<sup>21</sup> but as a *new* convert annually is somewhat impracticable, the descendants of Cato and Brutus have frequently to rest content with the exhibition of a second-hand convert, rather than have none at all.

In the latter part of the fourth century the compilation of the Talmud Jerusalem took place; and in the early part of the fifth century the Babylonian Talmud was commenced under the immediate care of the celebrated Rabbi Asche. The mode adopted in the compilation of this extraordinary work of theology and philosophy, was as follows:—The disciples of Rabbi Asche met twice a year; they received each time two parts (the whole being divided into sixty parts) the comments on the same were brought back by the scholars on the following appointed time of meeting, from which the best were selected, criticised, and arranged. For thirty years this system was carried on, and out of the whole subsequently arose that gigantic work entitled “The Talmud.”

Christianity was now completely triumphant; the heathen temples were destroyed or deserted; Paganism had to hide its diminished head, and practice its ungodly rites in the obscurity of remote villages; the beautiful statues of heroes and gods were dashed to the ground; and the worship of

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<sup>21</sup> “It is well known, that every year one Jew at least must be baptized at Rome. We are told by Mr. White, an English traveller, that the operation of conversion which took place this year was performed on an individual of Jewish descent, who had already been baptized six times previously,” etc.—*Jewish Chronicle*, March 6, 1846.

them transferred to relics of saints and martyrs, these were searched for far and near; the tooth of a learned man fetched in our days £730,<sup>22</sup> this is a mere *bagatelle* compared to the enormous prices paid a few centuries ago for the toe-nails of some immaculate bishops and saints, which like the woman's cruise of oil, proved inexhaustible. The Emperor Arcadius, who was determined to enrich Constantinople with some *matchless* relics, had the prophet Samuel brought from his peaceful grave in Judea; his ashes were put into a golden vase, which was transmitted by the bishops into each other's hands, until it reached its destination. The moment they arrived in the vicinity of Constantinople, the emperor himself at the head of a splendid retinue, composed of the clergy, the senate, and the nobility, advanced to meet this extraordinary guest; <sup>23</sup> the people were mad with joy: to the Jew alone it seemed somewhat problematical, why the dust of a dead Jew should be so valuable, whilst the flesh and bone of a living one was held cheaper than the dust they trod on.

In proportion as Christianity increased in power and influence, the professors thereof increased their persecutions of the Jews; every opportunity was embraced, every trifle was seized upon with the avidity of hungry wolves, as a pretext to rob, slay, and grind into dust the unfortunate Israelites. In the early part of the fifth century, the Jews happened to celebrate the feast of Purim in a more than ordinary noisy manner, they had the indiscretion to erect a gibbet in a public thoroughfare, and hung the effigy of Haman thereon; the exasperated Christians either did, or

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<sup>22</sup> Some years ago, I read in a paper, that in 1816 Lord Shaftesbury paid £730 for a tooth of Sir Isaac Newton.

<sup>23</sup> Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, vol. 3, chap. xxviii. p. 23.

pretended to look upon this as an insult to their divinity, and the result was a terrible collision between the two parties; the Synagogues had generally to undergo a fiery ordeal. The indiscretion of a few, or even ONE insane or drunken Jew, was sufficient to involve a whole people in ruin and disgrace. At Antioch, the Roman governor had the manly courage to hold with the Jews, and by an ordinance of the emperor, the lawless clergy were ordered to make restitution. How could the Church consent to such an indignity? Fortunately for the wounded feelings of the clergy, the celebrated Simeon Stylites, "the holy martyr in the air," undertook to advocate the cause of the Church; how could the emperor refuse the request of such a saint? The Jews had to pocket the insult, rebuild their Synagogues as well as they could, and as for the poor governor who dared to hold with the Jews against the true believers, of course he was recalled.

The Jews have been charged with having been extensive slave-dealers in the fifth and sixth century; that this charge is founded on truth is evident, from several enactments relative to the subject; but I would defy the bitterest Jew-hater in existence to point out among the Jewish slaveholders of the DARK ages, anything that can compete in cruelty with the *Christian* slaveholders of these our present days of civilization. Did a Jew ever apply the whip to "old men and tender women, and set the pregnant female on the treadmill for refusing to work, when not they but the eternal law of nature refused to work"? Did he ever flay men's backs with cow-hides, and "pour on hot rum, superinduced in brine or pickle, rubbed in with a corn husk, in the scorching heat of the sun"? Did a Jew ever set a boy "to strip and to flog his own mother to blood for a



small offence"? <sup>24</sup> No, *he* never did. Did a Jew, in the darkest or lightest days, ever consider it felony to teach a slave to read? Did he ever scourge and torture a female slave until her back became one mass of raw flesh, for presuming to listen to the doctrines of the Gospel? No, *he* never did, though Christians of the *present* age, lay-men and ministers of the Gospel *do so*, and blush not to call themselves the followers of the "meek Jesus."

The reign of Justinian is replete with severe and cruel enactments against the Jews. Whilst he compelled them to bear all the burdens of the state, he carefully withdrew them from all the offices of profit or dignity. His laws

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<sup>24</sup> *Vide* Emerson's Oration on the Emancipation of Negroes in the British West Indies. In a pamphlet before me, entitled, "Why did the Ministers of the town of Leeds absent themselves from the Anti-Slavery Meeting?" I find it stated, that in America, where slavery prevails, it is made death by law to attempt a second time to teach the slave to learn the letters of the alphabet, or to speak the name of God, their Father in Heaven. "They," (the ministers) says my authority, "are aware that slavery has corrupted the Church of America; that members, and leaders, and deacons, and elders, and preachers, and bishops, and Churches are involved in the guilt of slaveholding; that members and ministers of churches are to be found *breeding* and *rearing* slaves for the market, and selling and buying, and whipping, and branding their fellow-creatures as their daily occupation; that they even buy and sell, and whip and brand *the members of their own Church*; that Methodists are found holding Methodists in slavery, and Baptists holding Baptists in slavery; and Independents holding Independents in slavery; that *ministers* are found dealing in the flesh and blood—in the bodies and souls of their own church members; that churches, even in their corporate capacity, are found in possession of slaves; that Missionary societies, and Bible societies, and religious seminaries and colleges are supported by the price of human beings; supported not only by the forced earnings or the plundered wages of the slaves, but by the price received at public auctions for the persons of the slaves," etc.

relative to converts, or rather apostates in Jewish families, sowed dissension, hypocrisy, and cruelty in the dwellings of the rich and the poor: the parent was robbed of his natural authority over his own child, and his very substance for which he spent a life-time of the hardest toil, was often wrung from him in the very hour of death, to enrich a prodigal renegade, to the exclusion of his better children, because they would not swallow the bread of hypocrisy. And yet Christians turn their eyes to heaven, and charge the Jews with hating them! God of heaven and earth! is it in the nature of *man* to love those who delight in torturing them? To love those who hate us, may be a good moral lesson in theory, but has Christianity ever taught it us in practice? Oh, let some good Christian show me the *how*, the *when*, and the *where*, and I will learn to forget the wrongs of our fathers, which still cry aloud from the bowels of the bleeding earth! I know not with what feelings a modern enlightened Christian reads of the means adopted by the Christians of the dark ages to gain Jewish converts; to me it has always appeared a most inexplicable problem, *how* persons professing themselves to be Christians *could* reconcile their deeds with their faith.

Oh, what miracle-mongers they must have been in those palmy days of conversion! History records (or, at least, it repeats) the following wonderful story. The child of a Jewish glass-blower innocently partook of the crumbs of the consecrated host; the indignant father cast his child into the blazing furnace! the raving mother ran through the public streets seeking for her child, and frantically calling aloud for her lost offspring; out of the fiery furnace the child replied to his mother; he came out safe and sound, with his shoes unsoiled; the holy virgin cast her purple mantle over him, and, like Van Amburgh's lions, the fire became harmless;

the glass-blower's occupation on earth was gone; the mother and child went into the bosom of the merciful church. If, weary of such details, we shift the scene and look to other climes beyond the jurisdiction of the cross, still the terrible spectre "persecution" follows us everywhere throughout the world; but the persecuting hand of the heathen is not branded with the mark of hypocrisy, he professes not to teach, "Love those who hate you," nor does he preach, "If thine enemy strike thee on one side of thy face, turn to him the other also"!

In the fifth year of Justinian, Chosroes ascended the throne of Persia; in his reign, the Jews (who had suffered so terribly from their Christian masters) had some hopes of seeing Jerusalem delivered from the oppressive hands of the Nazarenes, and Christian historians assert that the Palestinian Jews even offered to assist the invaders with 50,000 men; they were, however, this time disappointed in their hopes, an "everlasting" peace having been concluded, which lasted, as Milman tells us, "barely seven years." The Jews who, under the worst circumstances, could never be accused of INGRATITUDE towards the Christians, for they had nothing to be grateful for, looked forward hopefully towards the approaching events, which were to deprive the Christians of Jerusalem; this, their hope, though long delayed, did at last come; they entered the gates of Christianised Jerusalem along with the avenging Persians. According to the Christian historians, the Jews had their glut of vengeance; they bought the Christian captives at enormous prices, in order that they might have the pleasure of slaying them; the churches were burnt, the holy sepulchre insulted, the pious offerings of devout pilgrims plundered, and for a few years the Jews had the pleasure of seeing the heads of the proud Nazarenes humbled to the dust. But

supposing every iota of Jewish cruelties recorded by monkish historians to be absolutely true, they are still not the millionth part of the wrongs the poor Israelites suffered from their saintly oppressors; and, whilst the Jews were goaded into madness by their iron rulers, by wrongs innumerable, unutterable, and inconceivable, what extenuating circumstances can be advanced in favour of those Christian persecutors whose sole object was cruelty, plunder, and lust? Christianity has thus far (with but little intermission) triumphed over Judaism and Paganism.

A new religion now arose, under the name of Mahomedanism. Mohammed,<sup>25</sup> the founder thereof, was born at Mecca, in the year 569 of the Christian era. His religion, which is a mixture of Judaism,<sup>26</sup> Christianity, and Paganism, spread with the most astounding rapidity, and continues to this day to affect the moral and physical condition of considerably more human beings than Christianity itself. "There is but one God, and Mohammed is his

<sup>25</sup> Ockley writes *Mahomet*, but as the name is pronounced in the Arabic, *Muhammed*, or *Mohammed*, and the latter is the orthography most generally adopted, it has been followed here. The name is derived from the past participle of the verb *hamad*, signifying "praised," or "most glorious."—The *History of the Saracens*, by Simon Ockley, B.D. Note to Henry G. Bohn's edition, 1847, p. 1.

<sup>26</sup> It is generally supposed that Mohammed was greatly indebted to a Jew and a monk for a great portion of his Koran. I am not aware how much of this debt of gratitude is due to the monk: this much I do know, that Mohammed has culled many a flower from the Jewish Talmud, and many a weed from the successors of the Talmudists, to all of which he no doubt would have been heartily welcome, if he had but used a few inverted commas. Mohammed was no Hebrew scholar, but the Persian Jew, Abidia, the son of Salem, was, and that was quite sufficient for his purpose. Rabbi Schwartz calls this Jew Aliman Mam Ali, and says that the Christian's name was Turchman.

prophet," is the fundamental principle it inculcates; "The Koran, or the sword" is probably the second. Endowed with the same insatiable desire of proselytism as Christianity, it pushes its way along with the sword; it uses neither persuasion, bribery, nor corruption; it meets its enemy openly in the field, and, as CONQUEROR, its terms are generally "the Koran or death."<sup>27</sup> It leaves the miserable apostate this healing balm to a seared conscience, that force, not choice, has planted the hypocrite's thorn in his breast. Mohammedanism has no "Palestine-place," nor does it hire Jewish renegades to entice their victims, as the Asiatics employ tame elephants to ensnare wild ones. Proselytism is indeed a passion; but a Mohammedan would scorn to make a TRADE thereof. Knowing in his heart how much he was indebted to Judaism for his doctrines, Mohammed was very ambitious to gain the Jews as his proselytes; the splendour of his career, and his astounding success, might indeed have pleaded somewhat in favour of his divine mission, had he adhered to the law of Moses, but the "Camel-eater" could never aspire to the honour of the Messiahship in the eye of a Jew.

Disappointed and nettled by the stubbornness of the unbelieving Jews, Mohammed deigned to grant them but one alternative—"Islamism, or the sword." "We are ignorant of war," was the dignified reply of a Jewish

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<sup>27</sup> Though the prophet was determined to have none but Mussulmans live in his own "happy" Arabia, yet both he and his successors in their foreign conquests, generally offered three conditions to their subdued foes, viz., firstly, Mohammedanism; secondly, Tribute; thirdly, Death. Thus we see that the same power, money, which in the nineteenth century purchases from the Czar of Russia the liberty for a Polish Jew to wear a CAFTAN instead of a surtout, also purchased in the seventh century, liberty for a Greek monk to kiss the Gospel instead of the Koran.

tribe ; “ we would eat the bread of peace, but if you oblige us to fight, we shall fight like men.” Tribe after tribe fell before the all-conquering “ Prophet” ; the Kainoka, the Nadhir, the Jews of Koraidha, and those of Khaibar, each and all felt the power and the vengeance of Mohammed : at last the prophet himself was called to his last home, and it is said that his death was occasioned by poison,<sup>28</sup> administered to him by a Jewess. But if Mohammed inveterately warred against the Jews within the limits of the Arabian peninsula, it was probably to fulfil his own injunction, that none but Mohammedanism should exist in Arabia ; but in time, the Jews, under the rule of the Caliphs, had reason to rejoice in the triumph of Islamism over the Cross. In Spain especially (where from time immemorial the Jews had suffered all the wrongs the darkest bigotry could inflict) they had just cause to hail with delight the triumph of the Crescent ; under their Islamite rulers, the Jews began to enjoy some breathing time—trusts of honour and profit were conferred on them, and the road to honourable distinction was laid wide open to them.

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<sup>28</sup> The Mohammedans and also the Christians assert that Mohammed was poisoned by a young Jewess, who (as she afterwards confessed) wished to try whether he really was a prophet or not, it seems that she poisoned him with a shoulder of mutton. Ockley remarks, “ The miracle-mongers improve this story by making the shoulder of mutton speak to him ; but, if it did, it spoke too late, for he had already swallowed some of it ; and of the effects of that morsel he complained in his last illness.” The death of Abubeker, (the first Caliph after Mohammed) is also attributed to the Jews, who are said to have poisoned him with a dish of rice ; fortunately, however, for the credit of our race, I find it quoted on the authority of Zaban, that Ayesha and Abdarrhman, the son and daughter of Abubeker say, “ that he bathed himself upon a cold day, which threw him into a fever, of which he died in fifteen days.”

During the reign of Abdalmelech, the coinage was entrusted to a Jew; Omar the Second, deigned to make use of a Jew to teach his co-religionists a lesson of tolerance towards the memory of Ali and his followers. In 753, under Abu Giafar Almansor, whilst the Christians were heavily fined, the Jews were appointed to act as the collectors: it is possible that the office was not disagreeable, for the Jews rarely love those who hate them, the most that their philosophy can teach them is not to *hate* those that hate *them*. Once more the Jews beheld their schools re-opened, their favourite literature flourish, and their "princes of the captivity" endowed with regal power. True, that, under Giafar, some Jews were FORCED to embrace Islamism: but the Christians shared the same fate, the zealous Mussulman knew no distinction. During the reign of Charlemagne, the world beheld the extraordinary sight of a Jew, named Isaac, going to the Court of Haroun al Raschid as ambassador; and the success of his mission justified the confidence placed in him by his Christian master. The Jews about this time were flourishing; and their character began to assume a very dignified aspect.

It is a well-known fact that every Jew throughout the world is, by circumstances, forced to have some knowledge of at least two languages—the vernacular language of the land of his birth, and the Hebrew; the former he studies for the convenience of life and commerce—the latter he *must* be able, at least, to read for the imperative duties of religion; those who have acquired a knowledge of the art of reading, may soon acquire the art of writing: hence it occurred that, at an age when even kings and prelates knew nothing of reading and writing, the Jews throughout the habitable globe, each and all, could always read at least one language, and, we have every reason to believe,



were most of them capable of writing in a language understood by their brother merchants in all parts of the world ; with this important advantage over their adversaries in a tolerant state, they soon attained some of the highest offices of trust and honour ; freed from the constant dread of persecution, they produced hosts of great men in all branches of learning ; some of the most celebrated physicians of the age were Jews, and were openly preferred in the courts of the mightiest monarchs before all others.

Theologians and philosophers flourished in abundance ; and, in the midst of their passionate fondness for letters and devout adherence to religion, they proved to every reasonable mind, that a Jew, under just treatment, is always a useful and valuable subject of the State. The successor of Charlemagne, Louis le Debonaire, treated the Jews with justice and kindness ; he even granted them the extraordinary privileges of hiring Christian slaves : this kindness of a Christian king towards the Jews was a bitter grief to the Bishop of Lyons ; he used every method that bigotry, envy, and superstition could suggest, but in vain—Agobard preached and prayed to no purpose, his petitions were received coldly, and, in return, he “ received permission ” to find his way back to his diocese.

A celebrated Jewish physician, who was held in great esteem by Louis le Debonaire, enjoyed the reputation of being a great magician ; it is gravely related (as Milman tells us), by Monkish historians, that he could swallow a whole cart of hay, horses and all ; and it probably rests upon the same authority, that this physician, whose name was Zedekiah, subsequently poisoned the son of his royal patron, Charles the Bald. But how *could* he have been innocent, was he not a man of learning and distinction ? and did he not enjoy the favour of his sovereign ? And was he not a Jew ?

The "golden age," as it is called in Spain, was both preceded and succeeded by many a one of iron; the laws enacted against the Jews there are still imperishable witnesses of the heartless cruelty of that land of intolerance. In the early part of the seventh century, Sisebut submitted to the Jews the alternative of exile or baptism; prayers, tears, and arguments were of no avail, and the poor Jews had to leave the inhospitable land, which inflicted a curse on itself, by the exile of the most industrious portion of its inhabitants. It is stated that 90,000 preferred baptism to exile; if so, the Church was enriched with so many hypocrites—the State with so many traitors; the cruelties enacted in Spain are of a nature to fill our bosoms with the deepest abhorrence, loathing, and contempt, against a people who are to this day steeped to the neck in bigotry and superstition—they force upon us a feeling of misanthropy. Heaven preserve me from it! I would be a stranger thereto; and therefore I gladly turn my eye from the blood-stained records, and for a moment turn to Spain under the Mohammedan sway. Here the Jews found leisure to devote their attention to the pleasures of literature—the Hebrew language, as if raised from the dead, was enriched with some of the sublimest specimens of Sacred poetry—the Scriptures were studied profoundly, and copiously illustrated. The Talmud was studied diligently, and translated into Arabic; commentaries, and commentaries on commentaries were written and studied, they were no longer the petty-trading vagabond wanderers; but, with souls refined in nobler pursuits, they disdained the mean trickery of ignorance and vice.

The character of the Jews shone brilliantly in the midst of their Moslem brethren. The Jews made the most of their time, and to this day the monuments of

their glorious career exist in every important library in Europe, and confer a lustre on our race, of which we are justly proud, and of which we can never be deprived. It is from this race of men that the great Maimonides sprung, to whom Judaism in all parts of the world is so much indebted—his name is revered throughout the world; and we reject with scorn the compliment paid him by Scaliger, "*Primus inter Hebraeus nugari desivit*," of which we have two translations. Dr. Lee<sup>29</sup> makes it, "The first Jew who ceased to play the fool." Samuel<sup>30</sup> reads, "The first among the Hebrews who forbore trifling."

But if the Jews had for a short time a little respite from their misery and persecution, the world, as if to make amends for its loss of time, roused itself with reanimated fury; and the hapless Jews were soon convinced that a terrible storm was lowering over their heads, from which none but a merciful God could save them; to whatever part of the world they turned, they saw nothing but darkness and dismay, with no place to fly to for safety or redress, with no pleasures from the past, with no hopes for the future, with all mankind for its insatiable and implacable foe. Alas! what was there in this wide world that could make life to a Jew desirable? Surely nothing less than the watchfulness of a special providence could have saved them from national suicide.

In the East, we behold the downfall and final extinction of the "Princes of the Captivity," the schools and colleges shut up and deserted, the disciples and tutors scattered like "chaff before the wind." With every mark of opprobrium and disgrace, you see the

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<sup>29</sup> Vide Prof. Lee's Hebrew Grammar, Preface.

<sup>30</sup> Vide Samuel's Version of Mendelssohn's Jerusalem, vol. ii. p. 348.

humble Israelite riding on his lowly ass, with the leather girdle as a mark of infamy, and with the brand-mark—the stigma of his race. Onward he trudges with his head bowed to the ground, musing upon wrongs that well nigh drive him mad. If anything on earth can for a moment remove that bitter scowl from his wrinkled brow, it is the sight of a Christian, who a few paces before rides also on the humble ass, for, like the Jew, he must not presume to bestride the noble steed. The leather girdle, too, mocks the Christian on his loins, and proclaims to the world, that the Sultan Motavakel knows no distinction between Jew and Christian; they are equally vile.

In the West, we view the wrongs of our race with still greater indignation; there the hypocrites *call themselves* Christians; they preach of humility, kindness, and brotherly love, and all the while their fingers are reeking with human blood! The poor, hunted, trodden down Jews looked around them, and beheld all mankind, like so many blood-hounds, baying at them. What would they all do with this feeble race? What makes them so eager after the chase? Even what the assassin would, when he cries, “Your money or your blood!”

Wealth, then, was the poison and the balsam of the Jew. On the one hand, it invited and encouraged the rapacious plunderers, and urged them on to the darkest deeds of infamy; on the other hand, it was the only thing on earth that could save him from death and destruction. Seeing, then, that to be wealthy was to invite the plunderer, and to be poor was to invite the butcher, it became absolutely necessary for the Jew to court that kind of wealth which he could with the greatest ease hide from the oppressor. To be a landed proprietor and an agriculturist, was out of all question: the villains would wait patiently

for the harvest, and then, like so many locusts, they would seize upon the prey. To follow any honourable calling or profession, was quite impracticable, every impediment being placed in the way. There was but one way open for him whereon he could steer with anything like safety ; he must get MONEY, and that *clandestinely*. Money could purchase a monarch on his throne, it could buy a church and its minister, it could wash the soul pure of all its iniquities, it could make devils into some sort of saints, and the same saints into devils again ; nay, it could do a greater feat, it could purchase a brief tolerance and respite even to a Jew (I speak not here in the language of metaphor. History records, that Ferdinand, king of Castile, sold the bishopric of Tarentum for 13,000 ducats, to a Jew, for his son, who had become a Christian).<sup>31</sup> Hence arose that culpable practice, that stigma on our race, “usury.” The Jew’s wealth consisted of that portable commodity, “Money ;” he could at all times accommodate a needy spendthrift, when his gentile brothers neither could nor would. Is it then to be wondered, that the Jew, who never heard a civil word from a gentile, except when he wanted to borrow, who felt in his heart that he was hated and despised and abhorred by the very gentile who only asks to *borrow* when he knows not *WHERE* to rob the Jew ; is it to be wondered, that the Jew should have demanded a usurious compensation for a sum which he knew not whether he would ever see again as interest or principal ? I am no advocate for usury, I hate and abhor its very name ; yet it ill becomes the gentile to brand the Jew as a usurer, who taught him the lesson he himself detests.

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<sup>31</sup> Vide Samuel’s Version of Mendelssohn’s Jerusalem, Notes to Preface, vol. i., p. 185.

Twenty years after the conquest of Jerusalem by the Turks, a monk, known by the name of Peter the Hermit, presented himself to do homage before the holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem; there he witnessed the low and contemptible manner with which the Turks treated the Christian population, a portion of which undoubtedly fell to his share. He returned to Europe full of fanaticism and vengeance, and roused all Christendom with his exaggerated tales of cruelty and persecution. Bare headed and bare legged, displaying aloft a crucifix, the half-lunatic monk ran from city to city, proclaiming the necessity of wresting from the infidels the city of God. Whilst all Christendom was roused into action, some with the hope of heaven, some with the love of plunder, and not a few with the spirit of chivalry, the Jews alone seemed at first to take no great interest in the matter. What earthly difference could it make to them which party possessed Jerusalem? They were persecuted by the one as well as the other.

As the movement became more and more general, a golden harvest seemed to allure the Jews into activity. The stupendous host about to set out under the auspices of Peter, must be clothed and accoutred; they must have money, too: and who so likely to have the providing of all this as the Jews? Unhappy race! they little dreamt that they *would have* to provide all this, and more, too, their heart's blood.

The first intimation the Jews had of their approaching calamity was from the singular inducements held out to all classes of society to join the enterprise, the Jew laughed with derision at their absolution from sin; he looked with contempt on the remission of penances, but a woeful pang went through and through his heart when he perceived that, "during the time that a crusader bore the cross, he

was free from suits for his debts, and the interest of them was entirely abolished.”<sup>32</sup> All his hopes of cent. per cent. of interest and compound interest “vanished like the baseless fabric of a vision”; and all his dreams of a plentiful trade melted away like an untimely snow before a summer’s sun. But if the Jews were disappointed in their hopes of profit from the Christians, the vagabond crusaders were also disappointed in their hopes from the Jews. The money-lenders, who, but a short time before, were as plentiful as the frogs in Egypt, all of a sudden became poverty-stricken; they had no money to lend, no goods to sell. True, that by some unforeseen good luck, the Jewish shop-keeper could find a few articles for the *ready-cash* customer, and the impoverished broker could bring into light a few sepulchred crowns, on the sight of some tempting family plate; but for the knight “who offered ‘to pledge his honour’” upon the hopes of a safe return from Palestine, the hard-hearted Jew could find nothing. This will explain why, when the monster host under the command of Peter, met near the city of Trèves, a spontaneous outcry ran through the camp, that they ought first to exterminate the enemies of the Lord at home, before they advanced against the infidels abroad. Scarcely were the words uttered, than the whole host ran into the city, and then was there witnessed such scenes of carnage, depredation, and monstrosity, as Sodom and Gomorrah never witnessed in their blackest hour of sin and wickedness. I will not soil my pen with narrating those deeds of infamy, lest it be supposed, that, instead of writing about men, I write about demons, yet surely Satan, in the lowest dungeon of his

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<sup>32</sup> “History of the Middle Ages.”—Chamber’s Information for the People.



Tartaric domains, has no fiends half so cruel as those crusade demons of flesh and blood! Having wreaked their vengeance upon the enemies of the Lord, Peter at last set out in 1096 at the head of 80,000 men, and was soon followed by another force of 200,000 more. In 1099, the remnant of them reached Jerusalem. After a siege of six weeks, they became masters of the holy city; the monsters spared neither age nor sex; "infants at the breast were pierced by the same blow with their mothers;" a multitude of ten thousand, who were promised quarter, were butchered in cold blood, and the streets of Jerusalem were covered with the dead.<sup>33</sup> After this, they advanced to the holy sepulchre, and, on bended knees, returned thanks to God for his kindness and mercy!

I have hitherto, freely and openly expressed my bitter indignation against those PROFESSORS of Christianity, who have so shamefully disgraced the doctrines they preached and inculcated. Against Christianity itself as it now stands in the book called "The New Testament," I have no animosity. Instances of magnanimity and kindness displayed by just and good Christians, even in the dark ages, are not wanting in the Post-Biblical History of the Jews, and which, had my space permitted, I should not have passed unnoticed. I must, however, here protest against any supposition that such instances were left out through dishonourable motives. The Emperor Henry IV. displayed his justice and humanity by issuing an edict from Ratisbon, in which he plainly evinced his disapproval of the heartless cruelties perpetrated against the Jews; he allowed all those who were forced to embrace Christianity to return to

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<sup>33</sup> "History of the Middle Ages."—Chambers' Information for the People.

Judaism, and commanded all the property of which they had been plundered to be restored. Half a century hence, the Jews again found themselves enclosed in a whirlwind of persecution, brought about by the monk, Rudolph, who openly preached in the cities of Germany on the duties of persecuting "the enemies of the Lord," who were, of course, the Jews. During these times of misery and woe, we read of the "Good St. Bernard," who manfully befriended the Jews, and thus proved to the broken-hearted Israelites, that it is quite possible for Christianity and humanity to be allied together. Sometime previous to the ascension of Philip Augustus to the throne of France, the Jews were charged with crucifying a youth (most likely his blood was wanted for the Passover, as some of the wiseacres even of the present day are well aware). The dead body was endowed with the faculty of working any miracle except that of restoring itself to life. This of itself was a sufficient cause to justify the monarch in issuing an edict which confiscated all debts due to the Jews : they were dragged from their synagogues and imprisoned ; and when they were released, they had to peruse a second edict, which deprived them of all their immoveable property, but gave them instead the privilege of selling some of their personal property and departing the kingdom. In less than a score of years hence, the mean-spirited monarch sold to the Jews the privilege of returning to his dominions, and the poor Israelites, like a bed-ridden patient, who fancies a change of position would bring with it some relief, accepted the terms, and once more enriched the city of Paris with their toil and their commerce. But the Jews were not destined to enjoy much peace here ; in 1239, the populace of Paris furiously attacked the Jews in their quarter, and glutted their demoniac vengeance upon a defenceless people.

The cruelties enacted and perpetrated against the Jews by Louis IX. who gloried in the title of "St. Louis," leave to posterity a shining example what the saint COULD do, when the object in view was to confer an obligation on the Almighty. Among the most striking of his services, disinterestedly rendered to heaven, is the burning of more than twenty carts full of the Talmud. Some twelve months before this holy saint died, he introduced into his realms the system of distinguishing the dress of the Jew by a peculiar mark, consisting of a piece of coloured cloth: the poor Israelite was thus made a walking advertisement, which invited the assassin's knife to his house and heart; the adoption of this plan of distinguishing the Jews from the faithful children of the church, was soon spread throughout Christendom, and proved an excellent index to the pockets of those who might be plundered with impunity.

In 1306, the Jews of Languedoc were attacked; and in the brief space of one day, their debts were confiscated to the crown, and their goods plundered and sold. In Paris they were attacked, robbed, and slaughtered, even the burial-grounds were pillaged, the bones of the dead scattered about, and the tomb-stones removed; the synagogues too were rifled, and nothing but the bare walls left, to serve as churches for the godly saints. It is difficult to say whether we ought to look with more pity on the Jews or contempt on the monarch, when a few years hence we behold Louis X. bargaining with the Jews of again re-admitting them into France; the same cruelty and avarice which drove them hence, pleaded for their recall; they came, and the same tragedy was again rehearsed if possible with greater *éclat*. Is it then to be wondered at that an avenging heaven should have looked

down in anger upon these merciless fiends? Pestilence and famine, and civil commotions desolated the land; but alas, the poor Jews found no redress; woe after woe, and danger after danger beset them wherever they turned.

The rising of the shepherds, a horde composed of the very vilest and lowest of the dregs of the people, sounded the funeral-knell of many a poor broken-hearted Israelite. Unchecked by the state, which neither would nor could cast its shield over a defenceless people; the cruel shepherds pounced upon the forlorn race, like so many vultures, and gorged their fill with blood and rapine. Driven to despair and madness, five hundred Jews fled to a tower, and for some time endeavoured to defend themselves, but the demons set fire thereto; and the frantic Jews died by their own hands. O merciful Providence, be they martyrs or suicides! Whilst yet beneath the torturing hands of the shepherds, a sudden conjecture, which was soon ripened into certainty, soon spread itself throughout Christendom; the pestilence which ravaged the land, was pronounced to have been brought about by the Jews, who had poisoned the rivers and the wells, and as if to fill the cup of misery to overflowing, they were further charged with corresponding with the king of Tunis, and plotting with the infidels against their Christian masters. The blood runs cold and the shivering of an ague seizes every limb at the mere recital of the appalling sufferings endured by an helpless and innocent people. O God! O God! Withhold my soul from the brink of misanthropy! I must avert my sight from such horrid deeds! they set the brain on fire and scorch the very hair on the head.

If there is one thing more than another remark-

able in the history of Jewish persecution, it is that the clergy (with some honourable exceptions) have generally been the bitterest of the bitter foes which the Jews had to encounter for so many centuries. From whatever quarter the storm came, it was almost sure to have been fanned into a whirlwind by the fanaticism of the monk, the hermit, or the priest. Whether the blow came from king, noble, or vassal, the priest, either openly or secretly, was always behind, with his sleeves rolled up to the elbow, crying "Onwards, onwards!" though the victim lay at his feet, biting the dust in the agonies of death. And there is, perhaps, no country in the world wherein this truism is more mournfully exemplified than in Spain. And yet the very flower of the Jewish race adorned that inhospitable land; elevated above the rest of their brethren, in their literary, mercantile, and social position; they at one time rose to a degree of brilliance in the scale of civilization, which promised eventually to cause a very important amelioration in the moral and physical condition of their race. Their influence and example might in time have sown the seeds of emulation among their scattered brethren throughout the world; and instead of one Maimonides we might perhaps have had a score, but the priests would have it otherwise, "Baptism, or the knife!" was one alternative; "Your money, or your life!" another.<sup>34</sup> And when driven into phrenzy and despair the frantic multitude rushed to the font, the holy water was hardly dried on their blushing cheeks, before the fell *inquisition* burst into light, and chased every hope of peace from the living to the dead. And yet several of the Popes have befriended the Jews, and treated

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<sup>34</sup> Vide page 174 note.

them with kindness and mercy ; as, for instance, Alexander II, in 1040, and Alexander VI. who admitted 15,000 Jews into Rome, when in 1492, Ferdinand, surnamed " the Catholic " banished myriads of them from Spain ; Clement VI. in 1349, who nobly protected the Jews of Avignon ; Innocent XII. who is even said to have lent the Roman Jews a large sum of money to enable them to pay their debts ;<sup>35</sup> and Sextus V. not only opened every city in his dominions to the free ingress of the Jews, but he also granted them religious tolerance ; and Jost tells us of a French Jew who dedicated to him an encomiastic poem, and received permission to establish a silk factory at Rome.

On the other hand, we might reverse the picture, and display some pontifical deeds which would not reflect very great credit upon the humanity of St. Peter's successors. Urbanus VIII. deserves to be remembered, inasmuch as he was (according to his own statement) inspired by heaven to establish the following regulation relative to the Jews when admitted into the presence of the pope—" On admitting Jews, such audience is given in the anti-chamber only ; and when the Jew is going to kiss his slipper, the Pope draws back his foot, and the Jew must do that homage to the spot of ground on which the foot has been resting."<sup>36</sup> Eugenius IV. prohibited Christians and Jews eating together ; he obliged the Israelites to wear a distinctive mark, and excluded them from every honourable profession. Paul IV. harassed them considerably with his commercial regulations, and prohibited them from dealing

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<sup>35</sup> Vide Samuel's version of Mendelssohn's *Jerusalem*, vol. i. p. 180.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.* Note to Preface, vol. i. p. 182.

in anything but the lowest and vilest commodities, corn, meat, and in fact any of the necessities of life, no Jew was allowed to deal in. Paul I. cruelly enclosed them, like so many wild beasts, in the Ghetto, from which they were not permitted to issue after sun-set, etc. etc. Such is a random view of the conduct of a few of the Popes towards the Jews : my limits permit of no more.

About twelve years before the expulsion of the Jews from Spain, two Dominicans, Michael Morillo and John de St. Martin, were appointed Inquisitors ; the ten plagues of Egypt could never have inflicted half the calamities that this dread tribunal brought upon the realms of Ferdinand. " In one year," says Milman, " 280 were burnt in Seville alone, 79 condemned to perpetual imprisonment, and 17,000 suffered lighter punishments." Seville had the honour of being the head quarters of this tribunal ; and there also was the " Quemadero," whereon many a miserable victim was burnt alive, " for the glory of God and his saints." When the Spaniards brought the news from the newly discovered world, that the savages sacrificed human beings to their idols, the pious monks turned their eyes towards heaven, and crossed themselves devoutly, all the while the fiends were themselves offering daily sacrifices of human beings to the God of gods, and blushed not to call themselves civilised. Many of the poor miserable renegades, who fondly hoped to purchase a few years peace by their apostasy, now found themselves a thousand times more miserable than the Jews. Accused, but not confronted with the accuser, watched by invisible spies, and terrified by every puff of wind, the father trembled to speak in the presence of his child, and looked round suspiciously when he whispered to the wife of his bosom ; it was death by fire to express a hope of a coming Messiah ; it was equally death



to shed a tear on the anniversary of the destruction of Jerusalem; tortures and torments unheard-of awaited the "New Christian" who feasted on the Purim, agonies worse than death for not lighting a fire on the Jewish sabbath; death for observing the rites of circumcision; death for chaunting a hymn in Hebrew; but, above all, death for being wealthy, for a third of the criminal's wealth went to the use of the "Holy" Inquisition. Subsequently the number of the inquisitors was increased, and that fiend incarnate, Thomas de Torquemada, placed at their head.

At last the awful 1492 arrived, and with it the fatal edict of Ferdinand "the Catholic," commanding all Jews to quit the realm. About the same time Christopher Columbus discovered America; a happy asylum it has proved for many a son of Israel: but oh for the fate of those poor children of nature who fell under the Spanish yoke! Can posterity ever forget the death scene of that unfortunate prince, who, on the rack amidst the Spanish monks, exclaimed, "What shall I gain by becoming a Christian?" "Heaven," was the reply. "Are there any Spaniards there!" asked the untutored Indian. "Yes, good ones." "Then I will have none of your heaven:" and thus died a stubborn infidel, in the midst of a host of holy saints. Every effort was made by the Spanish Jews to avert their impending calamity. The justly celebrated Abarbanel threw himself at the feet of Ferdinand, and by the power of his eloquence, backed by an offer of a large sum of money, almost succeeded in softening the heart of the king, when Torquemada stepped forward, holding a crucifix aloft, exclaiming, "Behold him whom Judas hath sold for thirty pieces of silver! Sell ye him now for a higher price, and render an account of your bargain before the Almighty!"

“For three centuries,” says the noble-minded Milman, “their fathers had dwelt in this delightful country, which they had fertilized with their industry, enriched with their commerce, adorned with their learning; yet there were few examples of weakness or apostasy; the whole race, variously calculated at 300,000, 650,000, or 800,000, in a lofty spirit of self-devotion (we envy not that mind which cannot appreciate its real greatness) determined to abandon all rather than desert the religion of their fathers.” (Vide Appendix A.) Whilst the Spanish Jews were driven out of Spain, amidst the jeers and execrations of an ignorant and fanatic multitude, England beheld the singular sight of a Jew laying claim to the throne of Henry VII. Margaret, duchess of Burgundy, was sister of Richard III. and consequently could have no great love for the reigning monarch; she gave it out that Richard Duke of York was not actually slain, but that he escaped from the tower, and that he was yet alive. Perkin Warbeck, who was the son of a “Christianised Jew,” was fixed upon to play the hero; and the delighted duchess, pleased with the aptness of his performance, assigned to him a guard of honour, and sent him to seize upon that “tide in the affairs of men which, when taken at the flood, leads on to fortune.” His singular likeness to Henry IV. smoothed his way considerably for him. In France he was received by Charles VIII. with all the honours due to his rank. James IV. of Scotland, gave him in marriage the Lady Catherine Gordon, daughter of the Earl of Huntley. But Henry VII. was above a match for him; he died on the gallows, after having been exposed on the pillory and otherwise severely used. The marriage of Emanuel, king of Portugal, with the daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, eventually led to the banishment of the Jews

from that benighted land ; but will Christians of this present day believe it (and yet it is solemnly true), that the cruel monster gave orders previous to the departure of the Israelites, to have all their children under fourteen years of age seized, in order to have them brought up to the Christian church ! Then was there seen that most awful of awful sights, mothers slaying their children with their own hands, to save them from a worse fate ! I rejoice in my heart that it is in my power to add that some Jewish children escaped through the kindness and mercy of a few TRUE Christians, who assisted the Jews in hiding their offspring from the villanous plunderers. A few thus escaped ; but many were torn from their mother's breasts never again to behold them in the land of the living. In 1506, for three days successively the Jews were barbarously slain at Lisbon, and O merciful God of heaven, *can* it be true ! (and yet I have a *Christian's* authority<sup>37</sup> for it) that not content with taking away their lives, they took those among them whom they had horribly lamed and crippled, and dragged them to the public squares, where they burnt them in heaps : 2,000 human beings thus fell a horrid burnt-offering on the shrine of fanaticism ; "the fathers," adds my authority, "not daring to weep for their children, nor the children for their fathers."

The invention of printing opened a boundless field of traffic and industry to the children of Israel ; they were among the first who made use of its important advantages, and some of the most beautiful specimens of typography issued from their presses, which considerably tended to raise their character in the estimation of the literary world.

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<sup>37</sup> Maunders.

Jewish literature and Rabbinism acquired a most powerful ally in this invention, seeing that works, which existed only in rare manuscripts, were soon issued by thousands from their prolific presses. In 1477 appeared the earliest printed portion of the Hebrew Scriptures—it was the Book of Psalms, with the Commentary of Kimchi. In 1488, the entire Hebrew Scriptures appeared in print.<sup>38</sup> In the early part of the sixteenth century, the Soncino family established presses in Italy and at Constantinople, where they published Hebrew Bibles and several rare Hebrew works. At Venice, Daniel Bomberg kept his presses in full operation; in the middle of the seventeenth century, Rabbi Athias issued his edition of the Hebrew Bible, to which it is said, many of the best modern editions, such as Van der Hooght's, Jablonski's, Hurwitz's, and Simons's, owe their improvements in a great measure; besides his Hebrew edition, Rabbi Athias also printed the Bible in German, Spanish, and English, and he asserted that he sold more than a million copies of the English Bible alone; his learning and industry was handsomely rewarded by the States-General of Holland, who presented him with a gold chain and medal.<sup>39</sup>

At last Luther and the Reformation made their appearance in Europe, and from that period we may date the gradual amelioration of the condition of the Jews—not that Luther evinced any great love for the “crucifiers of Jesus”; on the contrary, we are told that he counselled his his disciples “to raze their synagogues, and burn their

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<sup>38</sup> Vide “Horne’s Introduction,” etc., vol. ii. part i. chap. ii. sect. i.

<sup>39</sup> My authority for this statement I cannot at this moment bring to my recollection, the extract was made some weeks ago, most probably from some work beneath my own roof.

books.”<sup>40</sup> By fits and starts, however, he now and then could find a few kind words in behalf our race, as witness the following :—“ If the Apostles, who were Jews themselves, every one of them, had behaved towards us Gentiles as we Gentiles behave towards the Jews, not one Gentile would have become a Christian : then, as the Jewish apostles acted brotherly by us, it behoves us to act brotherly by the Jews ; whereas, worrying them as we do, and imputing to them this and that, and Heaven knows what, how can we ever expect to do any good with them ? ”<sup>41</sup> But the greatest service rendered by the Reformation to the Jews, was its giving the Catholic Church plenty to do to attend to the “ heretics and infidels ” in its own bosom, and thus happily detracted its attention from the “ stubborn ” Jews ; the mutual persecutions, too, which, it engendered between Catholics and Protestants, taught many Christians, by personal experience, what religious persecution really was ; and the Protestant, who once felt the thumb-screw of the Inquisition, and ever after preached the beauties of religious tolerance, could seldom for shame apply afterwards the same instrument to an obstinate Jew ; in short, there are none so well convinced of the beauties of justice, as those who have first experienced the evil of injustice. Hence in most Protestant lands, the Jews are partially or wholly emancipated ; whilst in most of those States who still remain under the benign influence of the Church of Rome, still to this day hold the Jews in the bondage of intolerance. In Rome, at this day, the Jews remain in the Ghetto. In Spain and Portugal, there is scarcely a Jew to be seen. Catholic France is certainly

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<sup>40</sup> “ Hebrew Review,” vol. i., Introduction, page 2.

<sup>41</sup> “ Samuel’s Version of Mendelssohn’s Jerusalem,” vol. i. p. 186.

one of the exceptions, but there the Church and the State are but indifferently allied. In Holland, the Jews have long enjoyed the blessings of complete tolerance, and never to this day have they abused the justice of that State. On the contrary, they have been the means of raising Amsterdam to that high station in the commercial world, which it never would have attained without them. The Jewish merchants of Holland are known and respected in every mart as punctual and honourable traders. In 1641, after the conclusion of an armistice with the Portuguese, the Dutch Government intimated that the Jews would be allowed to settle themselves in the Brazils. Two Rabbies, Raphael d' Aguilar and Isaac Aboab, journeyed thither along with 600 Jews from Amsterdam; and in a few years, this small community, through commercial activity, rose to some importance. But in 1654, the decisive victory of the Portuguese in the Brazils decided the fate of the Dutch settlers; they were ordered to depart; an appointed time was granted them to settle their affairs; their property was respected, and sixteen ships were sent with them to escort them home. More than forty years ago, a Christian author, speaking of the Jews of Holland, says, "Virtue and talent generally follow in the train of liberty, and this is the reason why the Jewish community in Holland have produced so many enlightened men; even now, we find many such among them—such as Cappadoc, a physician; D'Acosta, who was President of the Batavian Legislative Assembly; Asser, and several others, who are lawyers; De Sola, and Bel-Infant, at the Hague, etc." To this we might add, from Jost, several others—as Heilbronn, who six times obtained the prize from the Academy of Science at Rotterdam; Almeida, who in 1781 fought on the sea against England; Polak, Stein, Pinto, etc., etc.

Speaking of the Jews in France, the same writer says, "among them there are many men of cultivated minds, such as Rodriguez, Furtado, Eli Levi; Bing, lately dead, and universally regretted; Lipman Moses, known as the author of Hebrew and German poems; Berr Isaac Beer, who at the commencement of the constituent assembly, victoriously refuted the paralogisms advanced by Lafare, bishop of Nancy, against the admission of Jews to civil rights; Michael Beer, an advocate, and member of several learned societies; Zalkind Howwitz, author of some esteemed works, as, for instance, 'On the Resignation of the Jews.' Terkem and Anschel, the former professor of the higher branches of mathematics, the latter of physics and chemistry, at the Lyceum of Mentz,"<sup>42</sup> etc. etc.

Since the above was written, France beheld the remarkable spectacle of a Jewish Sanhedrim, summoned by Napoleon to assemble at Paris; soldiers, generals, and marshals of renown belonging to the Jewish race, have fought and bled for the emperor, and (if want of space did not prevent it) many illustrious characters now living might be added to the above list. The present minister of finance is Achill Fould. In the musical world, Halevi shines brilliantly. On the stage Rachel stands unrivalled; and Cremieux is said to stand pre-eminent in law. Rosenhain too (some years ago knighted by the king of Holland), enjoys the reputation of a great pianist and composer, etc. etc.

In 1847, owing to the disappearance of a Christian child at Damascus, an official in the French consulate brought the subject before Sefata Pascha, in the hopes of reviving

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<sup>42</sup> Vide "The Rise, Fall, and Future Restoration of the Jews," towards the end.



the tragedy of Damascus enacted some ten years ago. Sir Moses Montefiore, the never failing champion of the Jewish race, immediately proceeded to Paris, where he had an interview with Louis Philip, the *last* king of the French; the courteous monarch shortly afterwards assured him, through M. Guizot, "that his Majesty's Government deems the accusation in question false and calumnious, and its agents, generally, are too enlightened to entertain the idea of becoming the means of its promulgation; it would earnestly regret, and would not hesitate to censure such conduct in the most emphatic manner," etc. etc. The persecution was nipped in the bud, and happily was heard of no more. Since the conquest of Algiers by the French, the Jews there under their new rulers have acquired all the privileges of Frenchmen.

The Jews of literary Germany have, since the days of the great Mendelssohn, taken the lead above all their brethren in the literary world; they are, in fact, emphatically THE scholars of the Jewish nation; the Polish Jews may, indeed, vie with them in a *superficial* knowledge of the Talmud and Rabbinical philosophy; but what the German knows he knows thoroughly, and what he writes, though it be written *in* 1850, is not always written *for* 1850; they have not only souls, but names for immortality. It was the lot of the immortal Mendelssohn to live in the reign of Frederick the "Great," who was nothing better than a Jew-hater; and he was one of the few characters on whom the title "great" has been conferred who did not show some kindness to the Jews. What will posterity think of this "great" Frederick, when in one page it will read, "every Jew on the marriage of a son was obliged to purchase porcelain to the amount of three hundred rix-dollars, from the king's manufactory;" and

in another page, "several times the Berlin Academy of Sciences had expressed a wish that Mendelssohn might be appointed one of their associates; but Frederick, who had been called the "great," refused his assent, because he would not have in the list of members the name of a Jew joined to that of Catharine II. of Russia!"<sup>43</sup> But the indifference of Frederick to the merits of Mendelssohn, did not prevent that great man from rising in the literary world, to that height of splendour from which ten thousand monarchs cannot remove him. Many are the illustrious names which shone in the Jewish horizon as the contemporaries and successors of that truly great man. The names of Wessely, Bloch, Euchel, Baruch Lindo, Velvelize, Friedlander, Wolfssohn, Schottlander, Bril and Ben David, to whom the Academy of Sciences have more than once decreed prizes, etc., are all well known and respected both by Jews and Christians, nor is the present age without illustrious names; many there are whose well earned fame adorns their own native Deutschland. The battle-field of Waterloo has drunk of Jewish blood, both on the side of the French and that of Prussia and England. In the recent revolutions and movements of the people, the Jews have in Germany as in other climes, always sided with the cause of liberty and justice. My limited space hinders me from devoting more than a few words to poor bleeding Hungary, the recent events in that unhappy land will have taught mankind a lesson that the Jews *can* and *will* fight on the side of liberty and justice. The hearts of the patriotic Hungarians are with Kossuth in his exile, and so are the hearts of the remnants of the 50,000 Hungarian Jews who fought under his banners in behalf

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<sup>43</sup> "The Rise, Fall, and Future Restoration of the Jews," pp. 55.

of their native land. The account published in 1655, respecting the great meeting of Jewish Rabbies on the plain of Ageda, in Hungary, has been pronounced by Rabbi Manasseh Ben Israel, in his *Vindiciæ Judæorum* as “fabulous.”

The Jews in Poland are said to have acquired a great influence during the reign of Casimir the Great, owing to the charms of a beauteous Jewess named Esther; but whatever be the cause of that influence, it is certain that the trade of that kingdom almost wholly fell into the hands of the Israelites, and so well did they manage to retain it, that in time, in many instances, it became unnecessary for the men to attend to it; the women looked after the shop, the inn, or the store, whilst the “lords of the creation” devoted their time to the Talmud and other rabbinical studies; and so completely and entirely were they absorbed in this enchanting study, that it became a rare instance for them even to be able to converse in the vernacular language of the land; the women were interpreters between them and the gentiles. Between themselves, they spoke in a vulgar dialect, composed of a mixture of Hebrew, French, Dutch, German, and all other languages of Europe. If the gentiles looked upon them with contempt, they, in their turn, despised the gentile infinitely more in their hearts. Were they not the chosen race, the peculiar people of the Almighty? The distinctive mark on their dress, which for centuries they used as a badge of contempt, was gradually changed into fashionable and ornamental appendages to their garments, hence the coloured piece of cloth formerly worn to denote their race, was, in time, fashioned by the ladies into the gold-fringed, silken “brist-teech” (*i.e.*, breast-cloth from the German *Brust*, and *Tuch*), and it is not at all improbable that the ex-

pensive head-dress, which is a dense mass of pearls, stitched upon a cotton fabric, may have had a similar origin.

The men, with their costly fur caps, and dark silken "caftans," enjoyed their sabbath feasts, and studies and pleasures to a degree entirely unknown among the less orthodox children of Israel. Such was their position, at times more or less oppressed as in other climes, until the death of the Emperor Alexander: The accession of Nicholas, the present emperor of Russia, soon brought many bitter calamities upon his Jewish subjects. The Jews had, until the year 1826, or 1827, been exempt from military duties. They were very strict observers of the Sabbath and other religious festivals and ceremonies, which are quite incompatible with military duties. Of this, no doubt dear-bought privilege, the emperor deprived them: they had to enter a service, and be dispersed among a lot of rough uneducated men, with whose language, manners and customs, they were unacquainted, with whom they could have no fellow feeling; they had to undergo hardships for which (from habit) they were totally unfit; and finally, they had to break a thousand times a day their religious precepts, and be flogged and taunted and hungered, for no earthly purpose but to satisfy the will of a tyrant. Not satisfied with this, the emperor has within the last few years exercised all his ingenuity to invent new modes of persecuting the Jews. He removed them from the frontier towns, taxed them in every possible way, even to the candles in the Synagogue; and all civilised Europe looked on with horror at this man's hard-heartedness. Again the great friend of his race undertook a perilous journey; he stood before the throne of the Czar to plead the cause of his people. "Sire," said the Jewish philanthropist, "I commend my co-religionists to

your protection." The reply is worthy of being carved on Siberian icicles, "They shall have it, if they resemble you!"<sup>44</sup>

"What a sublime idea, a *nation* of Montefiores under the *protection* of the emperor of "all the Russias!" One other mode of taxing the Jews occurred to the inventive faculties of the Czar—the black gowns and fur caps. He knew the habitual fondness of the Jews for their peculiar dress, and that they would consider it a misfortune to have to lay them aside; that was precisely the reason why the Emperor willed it, that they should change their costume, and it became unlawful henceforth to be attired in the Jewish garb. But *money* may purchase even from the Czar the privilege of breaking the law; on the payment of a certain tax, the "state reasons" vanish, and the Jew *may* wear his favourite garb!

The great struggle between Hungary and Austria ended in the downfall of the righteous, owing to the interference of the emperor of Russia on the one hand, and treachery on the other. Swift on the wings of lightning the courier brings the news to St. Petersburg, "Victory! victory!" rings in the ears of the monarch, and he is mad with joy. Soon after, death struck the monarch's favourite child, and the madness of joy is changed into the madness of grief—the physicians order ice to be placed on his feverish temples. And this man could grieve into madness for *ONE* child, whilst thousands of *other* fathers' children he could with indifference behold dead and rotting on the battle-field!

At what precise period the Jews made their first appearance in England is a question involved in much obscurity,

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<sup>44</sup> Vide Colonel Gawler's Speech, as reported in the "Jewish Chronicle," 31st January, 1848.

it is stated that under William the Conqueror they *purchased* the right of settlement, and that during the next reign, the Jews enjoyed the favour of the king to such a degree, that he felt half inclined to turn Jew himself—he even appointed a public controversy between the Jews and the Christians, and vulgarly swore, that if the Jews gained the victory, he would embrace their religion.<sup>45</sup> The Jews did gain the victory (or, at least, it is said so), but the monarch remained a Christian: the Jews remained satisfied they “GAINED a loss.” That they enjoyed at that time great liberty and tolerance is evident from the fact, that the son of a person named Mossey, of Wallingford, made himself publicly conspicuous by deriding the votaries of St. Frideswide: he would satirically crook his fingers, and pretend immediately after that he had miraculously made them straight again; at other times he would act the cripple, and then all of a sudden he would begin to skip and dance about, and proclaim it a miracle.<sup>46</sup>

In the reign of Henry II. the Jews must have been both wealthy and numerous. It is supposed that one, named Joshua, lent large sums of money to some of the rebels, or (as Milman calls them) “adventurers” in Ireland. In 1188, the Parliament at Northampton assessed the Jews at 60,000 pounds sterling, and all the Christian population at

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<sup>45</sup> According to William of Malmesbury, the king was only in jest when he said he would turn Jew if the Christians were mastered in open argument; nevertheless, he tells us, that the bishops and clergy “were fearful, through pious anxiety, for the Christian faith;” and concludes his account of this singular affair with the following consoling passage:—“From this contest, however, the Jews reaped nothing but confusion: though they used repeatedly to boast that they were vanquished, not by argument, but by power.”—*William of Malmesbury's Chronicle*. Henry G. Bohn, London, 1847, p. 339.

<sup>46</sup> The Rise, Fall, and Future Restoration of the Jews, chap. iii p. 37.

only 70,000. Should this inequality be deemed unjust, it must be observed that the money was intended for an expedition to the Holy Land, and, of course, who more proper to be taxed for such a purpose than the Jew? The king, however, died just in time to spare the Jews this undeserved distinction.

During the coronation of Richard I., a few Jews ventured to intrude themselves into the abbey, though strict orders were issued that no Jews should be admitted: they were detected, and dragged from the church. This, together with the constant preaching of the clergy in favour of the Crusades (not forgetting the rapidly extending doctrine which taught the expediency of wreaking their vengeance on Christ's enemies at home, before they went to attack those abroad), led to the spontaneous rise of the populace, they broke open the houses of the defenceless Jews, and committed all the excesses that an ignorant and fanatical mob is capable of. "The king," says Milman, "*when the people, satiated with their booty, had retired*, ordered a strict investigation." Another Christian authority tells me, "three persons only were punished, who by mistake had injured the houses of Christians." Such was the justice of Richard Cœur de Lion! Englishmen are proud of this brave and extraordinary prince, but humanity was certainly not one of his most shining qualities, as his cruel and barbarous conduct to the garrison of Acre amply proves. In a small work before me, issued by the Tract Society, I find Richard, addressing himself to the Abbot of Clairvaux, says, "*As it became us*, we have put to death 2,500 of them," referring to the garrison of Acre whom he had taken prisoners, and of whom he caused the number just stated to be led out of the city and butchered in cold blood.<sup>46</sup> The

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<sup>46</sup> Dawn of Modern Civilisation, p. 61.



golden harvest obtained by the good citizens of London in their attack upon the Jews, prompted other places to "go and do likewise;" the Jews of York fled for refuge to the castle; besieged by an armed force and an infuriated mob, they manfully endeavoured to defend themselves, and, when all hopes of safety were gone, these brave men consumed their valuables, set fire to the castle, and fell like heroes by their own hands. What opinion *must* these men have had of Christianity, when, from the walls of the citadel, they beheld the clergy amongst the most active of their assailants.

These and many more acts of barbarity caused many of the wealthy and respectable of the Jewish community to leave the kingdom, and the result was a considerable defalcation of the revenue. In 1199, John tried his utmost to draw the Jews back again. Among the many inducements he promised them, perhaps the most remarkable, was his naming a high priest by the title of "Presbyter Judæorum." In the patent granted by the king to this priest, he was styled "our beloved and our friend." The deluded Israelites listened to the honeyed words of John, and returned, but they soon found out, that "the tender mercies of the wicked are cruel." The story of the Jew of Bristol, who was condemned to lose a tooth a-day until he paid the sum demanded, requires not to be told; and yet this world, with such a living testimony of *Gentile* cruelty, blushes not to taunt the Jew with his *fictitious* "pound of flesh!"

The remarkable scene of a Jewish Parliament, summoned about this period, for the purpose of extracting the sum of 20,000 marks from their pockets, is worthy of notice for the fact, that none of the progenitors of the present Sir Robert Inglis were there. Oh, that some friendly baronet

of that school could have proved to the king the illegality of the sitting of Jewish members in that House of Parliament! But the English monarch at that time did not apprehend any danger from the House being "unchristianised."

In the reign of Henry III., Stephen Langton, archbishop of Canterbury, and Hugo de Velles, bishop of Lincoln, prohibited the people throughout their respective dioceses from selling provisions to the Jews, or having any communication with them.<sup>47</sup> The reign of Edward abounds with acts of cruelty and malice, false accusations of clipping the coins, etc., led two hundred and eighty unfortunate victims in one year to the scaffold. After wading through a long catalogue of cruel wrongs, we at last come to the year 1290, when the king seized upon the estates of the whole community, and banished them "FOR EVER." During the Protectorate of Cromwell, the Jews of Holland deputed the celebrated Rabbi Manasseh Ben Israel to visit England, in order to lay the cause of his people before the Lord Protector and the Parliament. Whilst there he composed that celebrated vindication of our race, entitled "*Vindiciæ Judæorum*," which no doubt did much towards removing the great prejudice existing in England against our race, and most probably led to the eventual re-admission of our co-religionists under Charles II. Since that period, the Jews have lived peaceably and quietly in this happy land, Though they have not forgotten, they have long ago forgiven the wrongs that their forefathers suffered at the hands of the English. In 1634, James II remitted the alien duty upon all goods imported in favour of the Jews: this was repugnant to the wishes of the English, who

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<sup>47</sup> "The Rise, Fall, and Future Restoration of the Jews," p. 41,


were apprehensive that the same duty would also be remitted upon all imported goods. Petitions were presented to the king against this measure by several companies, and by fifty-seven of the leading merchants of the city. "These illiberal beings," says my Christian authority, "were glad, under any pretext, to defraud some of their neighbours of the privilege to trade upon the same terms with themselves; remembering the homely proverb, 'the fewer the better cheer.'"

In the sixth year of George II., REASONS were offered to the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen for applying to Parliament for the suppression of Jew brokers; but the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen had *better* reasons not to notice the selfish appeal. In 1753, a bill was brought into the House of Lords, and passed without opposition—the object of which was to enable all Jews, who have previously resided in England for three years, to become naturalised without receiving the Sacrament (according to an act of James I., no one could become naturalised who did not first receive the Sacrament). The next session, however, yielded to the popular clamour; and the Act in favour of the Jews was repealed. England at that time was a hundred years short of "being of age." Since then, England has become more and more liberal in her policy towards the Jews; and the House of Commons has repeatedly acknowledged their claim to complete emancipation. The City of London has again and again returned a Jew for its representative; and before long the entire emancipation of our race will adorn the statute books of this realm. Her gracious Majesty, the present Queen, has ever evinced her good-will and generous sympathy in behalf of our race. Almost the first act of her reign was to confer the honour

of knighthood on the justly-celebrated Moses Montefiore. Her talented minister, Lord Palmerston, exerted his matchless influence to put a stop to the horrid persecution in Damascus ten years ago ; and under the powerful protection of the British Court, Sir Moses Montefiore was enabled to plead the cause of his people before the Sultan at Constantinople, and before the Czar at St. Petersburg.

Latterly, the world was astonished with the fact, that the British Government actually called to account the Greek Government for an act of injustice towards one of its Jewish subjects. It appears that, several years ago, the son of one of the ministers of the Greek Government headed a mob, and attacked, plundered, and otherwise damaged, in the open day, the house and property of a Jew named Pacifico ; his appeals for justice had for years been passed unnoticed by the Greek Government—that pusillanimous State never dreaming that England would put itself to the trouble of seeking redress for a *Jewish* subject. During the negotiations with Greece, and after the successful termination of the “Greek question,” many of the illiberal periodicals of the day, and not a few *honourable* members of both houses, taunted Lord Palmerston with the character of Don Pacifico : he was declared a fraudulent bankrupt ; he was stated to have been an innkeeper in Portugal, where he over-charged Don Pedro in a bill of fare ; and a dozen other charges equally ridiculous and false. The British minister was neither to be threatened, nor taunted out of his direct course ; and the Jew, Don Pacifico, must have justice done him, not only by the State of Greece, but also by the state of the “Morning Herald.” On the 18th of November, the Solicitor-general applied to the court (of Queen’s bench) for a rule to show

cause why a criminal information should not be filed against the proprietor of the "Morning Herald," for the publication in that paper of a libellous attack upon the character of Mr. Pacifico. The court granted the rule to show cause.<sup>48</sup>

 Since the above was written, Don Pacifico withdrew his legal proceedings, in consequence of the defendant having publicly acknowledged the untruth of his accusations.

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<sup>48</sup> "Manchester Guardian," Nov. 20, 1850.

## APPENDIX.

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### A.

THE EXODUS of the Jews from Spain, which forms such an awfully sublime picture in the modern history of the Jews, has been callously overlooked, if not DISHONESTLY suppressed by Dr. Mosheim. Whilst speaking of the Jews and the Moors of this period in his “Ecclesiastical History,” he says, “The new subjects that were added to the kingdom of Christ in this century were altogether unworthy of that sublime title, unless we prostitute it by applying it to those who made an external and insincere profession of Christianity. Ferdinand, surnamed the Catholic, by the conquest of Granada, in the year 1492, entirely overturned the dominion of the Moors or Saracens in Spain. Some time after this happy revolution, he issued a sentence of banishment against a prodigious multitude of Jews, *who to avoid the execution of this severe decree, dissembled their sentiments, and feigned an assent to the Gospel.*” (Merciful heaven, what an ungenerous, what an inhuman perversion of truth!) “And it is well known, that, to this very day, there are both in Spain and Portugal a great number of that dispersed and wretched people, who wear the outward mask of Christianity, to secure them against the rage of persecution, and to advance their worldly interest.”

Now, the Rev. John Laurence Mosheim, D.D., is perfectly welcome to his erudite opinion, that the renegades were altogether unworthy of that “sublime title;” nevertheless, it would have been as well if that reverend gentleman

had taken into consideration that the Israelites, neither directly or indirectly *solicited* their Christian brethren to CONFER upon them that "sublime title," and moreover that the sainted children of the cross, who INHERITED that "sublime title," *robbed, maimed, and murdered* the unresisting and helpless sufferers, to the everlasting disgrace of that very "sublime title." It would also, perhaps, not have been foreign from the purpose of an "Ecclesiastical History," *not* to have omitted (that *very small fact*) that 800,000 Jews preferred death, banishment, and beggary, rather than ACCEPT that "sublime title."

It was in fact only the dregs and refuse of the Spanish Jews who had not resolution enough to follow the heroic example of the *body* of their race; and the bigoted prince fully deserved the mortification he felt, when, after congratulating himself with having Christianised his whole kingdom, he beheld, one severe winter's day, all the chimneys of his baptised Jews without smoke, because it was Saturday, the Jewish Sabbath! In the same chapter of Mosheim, wherefrom I quote the beforegiven extract, and which treats on the "prosperous events that happened to the Church during this century," the author tells us of the discovery of America by Columbus, and that "a great number of Franciscans and Dominicans were sent into those countries to enlighten the darkness of their inhabitants; and the success of the mission is abundantly known."

Yes, *it* is abundantly known! And before High Heaven's throne, it is both known and recorded, that the means used to convert the poor benighted natives, exceeded in barbarism and cruelty anything that has been told or heard of, anything that can be imagined or conceived of the most untutored and savage race that ever polluted the face of God's earth, And do I not speak the words of pure and unvarnished truth? Let the spirit of the *true Christian*, Bartholomew de la Casas, testify to the fact, that *twelve* times he crossed the ocean to plead at the foot of the Spanish throne the cause of the wretched Indians, who were melting away like wax before the unquenchable fire of those who basked beneath the sunshine of the "sublime title."



## B.

Since this Essay was written, another chapter (one of the most important in the political horizon of our race), has been brought to light in the election of Alderman Salomons for the borough of Greenwich; his manly, heroic and gentlemanly behaviour on that trying occasion, when the eyes of all Europe were upon him was such as to entitle him to an honourable position in the history of his country, and in the history of his race.

## C.

In making these scanty and random remarks respecting the papers, it is hardly necessary for me to STATE, that I pretend not to give anything like a systematic view of their conduct towards our race, according to the order of their succession; for such a purpose I had neither the time nor the opportunity.

When Mr. Mitchell first offered, through the medium of his paper, a subject for competition, as a prize Essay, I had not the remotest idea of offering myself as a candidate; nay, I was in great hopes that some of the SCHOLARS of our race would have entered the list; to two or three of that class with whom I have the honour of an acquaintance, I purposely wrote to INDUCE them to undertake the task, I had, therefore, every reason to suppose that at the appointed time, the Jewish public would have been furnished with several Essays of great literary merit. I need not say that my disappointment and chagrin was great, when at the specified time it was announced publicly that there were no competitors in the field—there were no Jews in England who were willing (I will not say able), to write forty pages for ten pounds. I confess that I grieved for the literary apathy displayed—I considered it discreditable to our people, that in a country like England

a Jew was not found in the space of several months to write an Essay on a subject with which every Jew is more or less tolerably well acquainted. It was *with no other object* than to remove that stigma, that I attempted this Essay, and I had but about two months' time (that is, the *leisure hours* out of the two months), to compose it in. Never having dreamt before of playing the historian, I was totally unprepared for such a task, and although my course of historical reading was both extensive and well selected in several languages, yet not having preserved any notes pertaining to the Modern History of the Jews, all my reading was, on this occasion, comparatively useless to me. Whilst labouring under the above disadvantage, I had a still greater one to contend with, in the fact that I had a *limited* space allotted to me, the result of which was, that often, after having written several pages, I had subsequently to cut part of them away, no matter of what interest or importance, in order to "squeeze an elephant through a needle's eye." A proper consideration on the part of the reader to the above statements, together with the fact that the language in which this Essay is written not being my native tongue, will tend to explain many a deficiency and many an incongruity which the critical reader may have noticed ere this.





Pocket the result. 176  
where Ind. towered  
high above either Christ  
or Mahom. p. 54

